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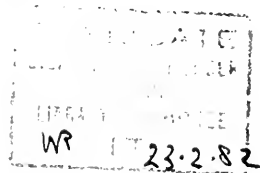
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- 1903 Bruce-Clarke, Miss E. L., Oak Leigh, Eastbourne.
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- L** 1893 Byrom, J., Esq., Woolfold, Bury, Lancashire.

1906 Casey, J. J., Esq., C.M.G., K.C., Ibrickane, St. Kilda,
Melbourne, Australia.

1896 Chambers, W., Esq., Bourton Lodge, Widmore Road,
Bromley, Kent.

Date of Election.

- 1896 Chapman, H. Mapleton, Esq., St. Martin's Priory, Canterbury.
- L** 1882 Clark, Professor E. C., LL.D., F.S.A., Newnham House, Cambridge.
- 1891 Clark-Maxwell, Rev. W. G., M.A., F.S.A., Clunbury Vicarage, Aston-on-Churn, S.O., Salop.
- L** 1875 Clarke, Somers, Esq., F.S.A., 48, Albert Court, S.W.
- 1908 Clephan, R. C., Esq., F.S.A., Marine House, Tynemouth.
- 1906 Conder, E., jun., Esq., F.S.A., Conigree Court, Newent, Gloucester.
- 1899 Connell, Rev. A. J. C., M.A., 14, Royal Crescent, Whitby, Yorks.
- 1898 Cooke, Richard, Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.
- 1897 Cooper, Rev. T. S., M.A., F.S.A., Chaleshurst, Chiddingfold, Godalming.
- 1904 Corcoran, Miss J. R., The Chestnuts, Mulgrave Road, Sutton, Surrey.
- L** 1889 Cowper, H. S., Esq., F.S.A., High House, Hawkshead, Ambleside.
- 1905 Cox, G. P., Esq., Stone House, Godalming.
- 1885 Cox, Rev. J. C., LL.D., F.S.A., St. Alban's, Longton Avenue, Sydenham, S.E.
- 1891 Cozens-Smith, E., Esq., 16, Kensington Square, W.
- 1894 Cranage, Rev. D. H. S., M.A., F.S.A., 8, Park Terrace, Cambridge.
- 1905 Crofton, Rev. W. d'A., M.A., Puckeridge, Ware.
- 1907 Crosse, Miss Kathleen M., The Yew House, Caterham Valley, S.O., Surrey.
- 1900 Cunningham, J. H., Esq., 2, Ravelston Place, Edinburgh.
- — — — —
- 1901 Darby, Stephen, Esq., The Starlings, Cookham Dean, Berks.
- 1896 Davis, A. Randall, Esq., Oaklands, Hythe, Kent.
- 1895 Dawkins, Professor W. Boyd, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fallowfield House, Manchester.
- 1884 Day, Miss, Lorne House, Rochester.
- 1907 Deedes, Rev. Canon Cecil, M.A., 32, Little London, Chichester.
- 1907 de Horne, Mrs., 3, Cumberland Place, Regent's Park N.W.
- 1900 de Lafontaine, Rev. H. T. C., M.A., 49, Albert Court, S.W.
- 1907 Denison, S., Esq., 12, Monkbridge Road, Headingley, Leeds.
- L** 1887 Dewick, Rev. E. S., M.A., F.S.A., 26, Oxford Square, W.
- 1877 De Worms, Baron G., F.S.A., 17, Park Crescent, W.
- 1878 Dickons, J. N., Esq., 22, Park Drive, Heaton, Bradford.
- 1883 Dillon, The Viscount, Hon. M.A. Oxon., V.P.S.A., Ditchley, Enstone.
- 1899 Downing, Frederick, Esq., 12, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.

Date of Election.

- 1903 Druce, G. C., Esq., Ravenscar, The Downs, Wimbledon, S.W.
 1906 Duke, Rev. R. E. H., Maltby Rectory, Alford.
 1896 Duncan, L. L., Esq., M.V.O., F.S.A., Rosslair, Lingard's Road, Lewisham, S.E.
- L** 1884 Eckersley, J. C., Esq., M.A., Ashfield, Wigan.
L 1893 Edwardes, T. Dyer, Esq., Prinknash Park, Painswick, Stroud.
 1898 Eccles, F. C., Esq., 105, Adelaide Road, N.W.
 1864 Egerton of Tatton, The Earl, 7, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1907 Eld, Rev. F. J., M.A., F.S.A., Polstead Rectory, near Colchester.
 1893 Ely, Talfourd, Esq., M.A., D.Lit., F.S.A., 3, Hove Park Gardens, Brighton.
 1889 Emerson, Sir W., 2, Grosvenor Mansions, 76, Victoria Street, S.W.
 1887 Evans, A. J., Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Litt.D., F.S.A., Youlbury, Abingdon.
 1861 Evans, Sir J., K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., Britwell, Berkhamsted.
- 1900 Fagan, Lieut.-General C. S. F., Feltrim, Topsham Road, Exeter.
 1894 Farquharson, Major Victor, F.S.A., Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
 1898 Farrer, William, Esq., Hall Garth, near Carnforth.
 1865 Felton, W. V., Esq., Sandgate, Pulborough, S.O., Sussex.
 1885 Fison, E. H., Esq., Stoke House, Ipswich.
 1906 Floyer, Rev. J. K., M.A., F.S.A., Warton Vicarage, Carnforth.
 1907 Foord, Miss, Lawnmead, Wonersh, Guildford.
 1884 Foster, J. E., Esq., 30, Petty Cury, Cambridge.
 1900 Fountain, F., Esq., 44, Croom's Hill, Greenwich, S.E.
 1904 Fox, F. F., Esq., F.S.A., Yate House, Yate, S.O.
 1883 Fox, G. E., Esq., Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A., 99, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.
 1906 Fox, W. H., Esq., F.S.A., 9, Austin Friars, E.C.
 1858 Foxcroft, E. T. D., Esq., Hinton Charterhouse, Bath.
- L** 1860 Freshfield, E., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 31, Old Jewry, E.C.
L 1898 Fryer, Alfred C., Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A., 13, Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1874 Furniss, T. S., Esq., Ilgham House, Stratford St. Mary, Colchester.
-
- 1897 Garstin, J. R., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Braganstown, Castlebellingham, S.O., Co. Louth.
 1900 Giuseppe, Montague S., Esq., F.S.A., 23, Kenilworth Avenue, Wimbledon, S.W.

Date of Election.

- 1887 Gleadowe, T. S., Esq., M.A., 11, Stanley Place, Chester.
 1891 Goddard, Rev. E. H., M.A., Clyffe Vicarage, Swindon.
 1905 Goddard, Mrs., 20, Randolph Crescent, W.
 1897 Goolden, R. E., Esq., F.S.A., Horton Grange, Maidenhead.
 1879 Gosselin-Grimshawe, H. R. H., Esq., Bengoe Hall, Hertford.
 1898 Grafton, Miss.
 1902 Grant, Miss R. H., Monckton House, Alverstone, Gosport.
 1895 Green, H. J., Esq., 31, Castle Meadow, Norwich.
 1899 Greg, Mrs., Coles, Buntingford, S.O., Herts.
 1902 Greg, T. T., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Coles, Buntingford, S.O., Herts.
 1907 Grimston, Mrs. W. E., Earls Colne Place, Earls Colne, S.O., Essex.
-
- L** 1886 Hale-Hilton, W., Esq. (*Hon. Sec.*), 60, Montagu Square, W.
 1900 Hale-Hilton, Mrs., 60, Montagu Square, W.
 1907 Hamilton, Mrs. Walter, Ellarbee, 16, Elms Road, Clapham Common, S.W.
 1905 Hammond, Mrs., 11, Norfolk Square, W.
 1904 Hardinge-Tyler, G. D., Esq., B.A. (*Hon. Editor*), 1, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
 1908 Harding, Miss, 9, Bradmore Road, Oxford.
L 1870 Harland, H. S., Esq., F.S.A., 8, Arundel Terrace, Brighton.
 1902 Harrison, Rev. F. W., Wesley Mount, Tiviot Dale, Stockport.
 1906 Harrison, H. E., Esq., Junior Carlton Club, S.W.
 1902 Harvey, T. H., Esq., Blackbrook Grove, Fareham.
L 1885 Haverfield, Professor F. J., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
 1907 Heyworth, Mrs. Lawrence, Colne Priory, Earls Colne, S.O., Essex.
 1898 Hill, Rev. A. Du Boulay, M.A., The Rectory, East Bridgford, Nottingham.
 1891 Hobson, W. H., Esq., 130, High Street, Maryport.
L 1884 Hodgkin, T., Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A., Barmoor Castle, Beal, S.O., Northumberland.
 1903 Hodgson, J. C., Esq., Hon. M.A. Durham, F.S.A., Abbey Cottage, Alnwick.
L 1890 Hooper, J. H., Esq., M.A., Tutnall, near Worcester.
 1883 Hope, W. H. St. John, Esq., M.A., Burlington House, W.
 1902 Horncastle, H., Esq., Lindisaye, Woodham Road, Woking.
L 1875 Horner, Sir J. F. F., K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome.
 1907 Howard-Flanders, W., Esq., Tyle Hall, Latchingdon, Maldon.
 1894 Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (*President*), 30, Collingham Place, S.W.

Date of Election.

- 1905 Howorth, Humfrey N., Esq., B.A., 30, Collingham Place, S.W.
 1904 Howorth, Rupert B., Esq., B.A., F.S.A. (*Hon. Editor*), 6, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
 1885 Hudd, E. A., Esq., F.S.A., 108, Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
L 1890 Hughes, T. Cann, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 78, Church Street, Lancaster.
 1901 Hulme, Miss, 10, Colosseum Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1905 Hunt, Mrs., 11, Warwick Square, S.W.
-
- 1892 Inge, Rev. J., M.A., Gayton Rectory, Alford, Lincolnshire.
-
- 1907 Jackson, C. J., Esq., F.S.A., 47, Eton Avenue, N.W.
L 1885 Jackson, Rev. Canon Vincent, M.A., Bottesford Rectory, Nottingham.
L 1878 James, Edmund, Esq., 3, Temple Gardens, E.C.
 1900 Jefferies, Miss, St. Helen's Lodge, Ipswich.
L 1877 Jex-Blake, Very Rev. T. W., D.D., F.S.A., The Deanery, Wells.
 1901 Johnston, Philip M., Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Sussex Lodge, Champion Hill, S.E.
L 1878 Jones, Herbert, Esq., F.S.A., 42, Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.
 1852 Jones, J. Cove, Esq., F.S.A., Loxley Hall, Warwick.
-
- 1895 Kemplay, Miss, 48, Leinster Gardens, W.
 1896 Kerry, W. H. R., Esq., The Sycamores, Windermere.
 1874 Keyser, C. E., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Aldermaston Court, Reading.
L 1888 Knill, Sir J., Bart., South Vale House, Blackheath, S.E.
 1895 Knowles, W. H., Esq., F.S.A., 25, Collingwood Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
-
- 1906 Larkworthy, Colonel E. W., V.D., Worcester.
 1899 Layard, Miss, Rookwood, Fonnereau Road, Ipswich.
 1893 Le Bas, Rev. H. V., M.A., The Charterhouse, E.C.
L 1887 Legg, J. Wickham, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 47, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
 1891 Le Gros, Gervaise, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Seafield, Jersey.
 1906 Leicester, H. A., Esq., The Whitstones, Worcester.

Date of Election.

- 1907 Lewer, H. W., Esq., Priors, Loughton, S.O., Essex.
 1906 Lind, G. J., Esq., Rua do Golgotha, 121, Oporto, Portugal.
 1895 Linton, H. P., Esq., Llandaff Place, Llandaff.
 1896 Livett, Rev. G. M., B.A., F.S.A., Wateringbury Vicarage, Maidstone.
 1871 Llangattock, The Lord, F.S.A., The Hendre, Monmouth.
 1899 Lloyd, A. H., Esq., Stone Ridge, Disley, Stockport.
 1892 Lloyd, R. Duppa, Esq., 2, Addison Crescent, Kensington, W.
 1886 Long, Colonel W., C.M.G., Woodlands, Congresbury, Bristol.
 1884 Longden, Henry, Esq., 447, Oxford Street, W.
 1893 Longden, Mrs., 6, Westbourne Park Villas, W.
L 1889 Lushington, Judge, K.C., 36, Kensington Square, W.
 1895 Lyell, A. H., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 9, Cranley Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
 1897 Lyell, Capt. F. H., 2, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.
 1903 Lynam, Charles, Esq., F.S.A., Stoke-on-Trent.
-
- 1898 Macbean, Dr. R. B., St. Mary's Gate, Lancaster.
L 1887 Malet, Colonel H., Radnor House, near Sandgate, Kent.
 1898 Mangles, H. A., Esq., Littleworth Cross, Seale, Farnham.
 1901 Marshall, Arthur, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., King Street, Nottingham.
 1904 Marshall, George, Esq., F.S.A., The Manor House, Breinton, Hereford.
 1882 Marshall, R. D., Esq., Castlerigg Manor, Keswick.
L 1904 Martin, E. P., Esq., The Hill, Abergavenny.
 1885 Martineau, P. M., Esq., Littleworth, Esher.
 1899 Master, C. Hoskin, Esq., Exbury House, Southampton.
 1905 May, Leonard M., Esq., 60, Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.
 1905 Medlicott, W. B., Esq., 18, Campden Hill Gardens, W.
 1883 Michell, W. G., Esq., M.A., Hillmorton Road, Rugby.
 1907 Micklethwaite, Miss, 27, St. George's Square, S.W.
 1885 Middlemore-Whithard, Rev. T. M., M.A., Hawkesley, Exmouth.
 1902 Miller, W. E., Esq., 9, St. Petersburg Place, W.
 1899 Milne, Miss H. A., The Trees, Church Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
 1845 Mitchell, F. J., Esq., F.S.A., Llanfrechfa Grange, Caerleon, Mon.
 1907 Morris, J. W., Esq., Seafeld Lodge, Faversham.
L 1884 Mottram, J., Esq., The Birches, 21, Bracondale, Norwich.
 1898 Munro, Robert, Esq., M.A., M.D., LL.D., Elmbank, Largs, S.O., Ayrshire.
 1901 Murray, G. S. D., Esq., F.S.A., 47, Duke Street, St. James's, S.W.

Date of Election.

- 1883 Nanson, W., Esq., B.A., F.S.A., c/o E. J. Nanson, Esq.,
Northacre, Northaw, Potter's Bar, S.O.
- 1889 Neale, C. M., Esq., Northgate Street, Bury St. Edmunds.
- L** 1890 Nesham, R., Esq., Utrecht House, Queen's Road, Clapham
Park, S.W.
- L** 1883 Niven, W., Esq., F.S.A., Marlow Place, Great Marlow.
- 1898 Nixon, Miss, 43, Galgate, Barnard Castle.
- 1905 Norman, Philip, Esq., Treasurer Soc. Ant., 45, Evelyn
Gardens, S.W.
- L** 1883 Northumberland, The Duke of, K.G., P.C., F.S.A., Alnwick
Castle.
- 1898 Nuttall, J. R., Esq., Thornfield, Lancaster.
-
- L** 1905 Oke, Alfred W., Esq., B.A., LL.M., 32, Denmark Villas,
Hove.
- 1888 Oliver, Andrew, Esq., 5, Queen's Gardens, W.
- 1906 Oliver, E. W., Esq., New Place, Lingfield, S.O., Surrey.
-
- 1897 Palmer, F. J. Morton, Esq., M.B., Holford, Thrale Road
Streatham Park, S.W.
- 1902 Panton, J. A., Esq.
- 1907 Paskin, W., Esq., Oaklands, Botley, S.O., Hants.
- 1907 Paskin, Mrs., Oaklands, Botley S.O., Hants.
- 1898 Parkinson, J., Esq., 36, Regent Street, Lancaster.
- 1904 Partington, Miss, The Lawn, Birstall, Leicester.
- L** 1880 Peacock, E., Esq., F.S.A., Wickentree House, Kirton-in-
Lindsey.
- 1890 Pearee, W., Esq., F.S.A., Perrott House, Pershore.
- 1898 Peele, E. C., Esq., Cyngfeld, Shrewsbury.
- 1896 Peers, C. R., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 96, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
- 1903 Peers, Mrs., Harrow Weald Vicarage, Middlesex.
- L** 1883 Petrie, W. M. F., Esq., D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.S.,
University College, Gower Street, W.C.
- L** 1886 Phelps, Rev. L. R., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
- 1902 Pim, Rev. H. Bedford, M.A., Leaside, Spencer Road,
Bromley, Kent.
- 1903 Plowman, H., Esq., F.S.A., 23, Steele's Road, N.W.
- 1895 Ponting, C. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wye House, Marlborough.
- L** 1880 Porter, Rev. Canon, M.A., F.S.A., Claines Vicarage,
Worcester.
- 1900 Porter, J. H., Esq., Ealdham, 103, High Road, Lee, S.E.
- L** 1866 Powell, Sir F. S., Bart., M.P., Horton Old Hall, Bradford.
- 1902 Prescott, H. M., Esq., 91, St. Mark's Road, North Kensington,
W.
- 1887 Price, F. G. Hilton, Esq., Dir.S.A., F.G.S., 17, Collingham
Gardens, S.W.

Date of Election

- 1907 Prideaux, Miss Edith K., Whinfield, near Topsham, S.O., Devon,
 1904 Pritchard, John E., Esq., F.S.A., 85, Cold Harbour Road, Redland, Bristol.
 1907 Probert, W. A., Esq., 100, Gloucester Place, W.
-
- 1905 Radford, H. G., Esq., F.S.A., 38, Cleveland Square, Hyde Park, W.
 1905 Raimes, F., Esq., Hartburn Lodge, Stockton-on-Tees.
L 1862 Ramsden, Sir J. W., Bart., Bulstrode, Gerrard's Cross, S.O., Bucks.
L 1890 Read, C. H., Esq., F.S.A., 22, Carlyle Square, S.W.
 1905 Reader, F. W., Esq., 17, Gloucester Road, Finsbury Park, N.
 1902 Reddie, C. S., Esq., Lamu, Mombasa, British E. Africa.
 1849 Reynardson, Rev. J. B., M.A., Careby Rectory, Stamford.
 1898 Reynaud, Prof. L., 145, Via Rasella, Rome.
 1894 Rice, R. Garraway, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., 23, Cyril Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, S.W.
 1895 Richardson, Miss, The Starlings, Barnard Castle.
 1897 Richardson, R. T., Esq., Barnard Castle.
 1874 Ripon, The Marquess of, K.G., P.C., 9, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
 1893 Rivington, C. R., Esq., F.S.A., 74, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.
 1893 Robinson, Rev. E. C., M.A., Hambury Vicarage, Burton-on-Trent.
 1898 Roper, W. O., Esq., F.S.A., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
 1873 Rowe, J. Brooking, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Barbican, Plympton.
L 1881 Rowley, Walter, Esq., M.Inst.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S., Alder Hill, Meanwood, Leeds.
 1880 Rudler, F. W., Esq., I.S.O., 18, St. George's Road, Kilburn, N.W.
 1887 Ryley, T., Esq., Junior Carlton Club, S.W.
-
- 1905 Sands, Harold, Esq., F.S.A., Craythorne, Tenterden, Ashford.
 1900 Seltman, E. J., Esq., Kinghoe, Berkhamsted.
 1907 Simpson, Miss B. E., 6, Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park Road, W.
 1907 Simpson, F. Gerald, Esq., The Moorlands, Boston Spa, S.O., Yorks.
 1904 Smith, H. L. Etherington, Esq., M.A., 12, Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.
 1899 Smith, J. Challenor, Esq., F.S.A., c/o Miss Wood, Uplands, Whitchurch, Reading.
 1901 Smith, J. H. Etherington, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 2, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.
 1907 Smith, Mrs. Machell, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Date of Election.

- 1879 Sopwith, Mrs., 87, Barkston Gardens, S.W.
 1898 Sontham, H. R. H., Esq., F.S.A., Innellan, Shrewsbury.
 1907 Spedding, J. A., Esq., 36, South Street, Park Lane, W.
 1898 Statham, Rev. S. P. H., B.A., Bodmin.
 1905 Stebbing, W. P. D., Esq., F.G.S., 8, Playfair Mansions,
 Queen's Club Gardens, W.
 1886 Stephenson, Mill, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., 38, Ritherdon Road,
 Upper Tooting, S.W.
-
- 1905 Tadros, D. N., Esq., F.R.G.S., Jaffia, Palestine.
 1901 Tanner, Mrs., Normanston, Marlborough Road, Bourne-
 mouth West.
 1906 Tapp, W. M., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 57, St. James's Street,
 S.W.
 1889 Tatlock, Miss, 16, Park Square, N.W.
 †1885 Taylor, H., Esq., F.S.A., 12, Curzon Park, Chester.
L 1882 Taylor, R. W., Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Baysgarth Park,
 Barton-on-Humber.
 1906 Taylor, W. T., Esq., Audnam House, near Stourbridge.
L 1902 Thomas, Major G. T. Harley, F.S.A., 73, Harcourt Terrace,
 S.W.
 1883 Thompson, Mrs. W. J., Elmer, Leatherhead.
 1878 Thwaites, Mrs. W., West Bank, Blackburn.
 1899 Tilley, Miss, Elmfield, Coombe-in-Teignhead, Teignmouth.
L 1887 Tredegar, The Viscount, F.S.A., Tredegar Park, Newport,
 Mon.
 1905 Tristram, Rev. C., B.A., Badshot Lea, Farnham.
 1879 Troyte-Chafyn-Grove, G., Esq., F.S.A., North Coker
 House, Yeovil.
L 1883 Tyson, E. T., Esq., Wood Hall, Cockermouth.
-
- 1902 Ussher, Mrs., The Dene, Northwich.
-
- L** 1883 Wagner, H., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 13, Half Moon
 Street, W.
 1888 Walhouse, M. J., Esq., 28, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
 1901 Wallis, G. H., Esq., F.S.A., The Residence, Art Museum,
 Nottingham.
L 1886 Warburton, P. E., Esq., The Dene, Northwich.
 1907 Ward, Miss, 82, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone.
 1907 Way, Rev. Albert, c/o Mrs. Way, Saxon Hall, Palace
 Court, W.
 1904 Weyman, Henry T., Esq., F.S.A., Fishmore Hall, nr. Ludlow.
 1894 White, J. H., Esq., Pease Hall, Springfield, Chelmsford.
 1899 Wigan, Rev. Percy F., M.A., Puckrup Hall, Tewkesbury.

Date of Election.

- 1907 Willis-Bund, J. W., Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Shire Hall, Worcester.
 1907 Willmott, Miss, Warley Place, Great Warley, Brentwood.
 1895 Wilson, Mrs., Bolton-by-Bowland Rectory, Clitheroe.
 1906 Wilson, Rev. J. Bowstead, M.A., F.S.A., Knightwick Rectory, Worcester.
L 1889 Wilson, R. H., Esq., The Old Croft, Holmwood, Dorking.
 1861 Winwood, Rev. H. H., M.A., 11, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.
L 1866 Wood, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Belmont, Sidmouth.
 1901 Woolley, T. C. S., Esq., South Collingham, Newark-on-Trent.
 1903 Worsfold, T. Cato, Esq., 9, Staple Inn, W.C.
-

1888 Young, A. W., Esq., 12, Hyde Park Terrace, W.

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

(The number of British Honorary and Corresponding Members is limited to Ten.)

Date of Election.

- 1903 Enlart, M. Camille, 14, Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris.
 Forbes, S. Russell, Esq., Ph.D., Via della Croce 76, Rome.
 Gosch, C. C. A., Esq., Attaché to the Legation of H.M. the King of Denmark, 21, Stanhope Gardens, S.W.
 Greenwell, Rev. W., M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Durham.
 1903 de Lasteyrie, M. le Comte Robert, Member of the Institute of France, 10^{bis} Rue du Pré aux Cleres, Paris.
 1903 Lefèvre-Pontalis, M. Eugène, 13, Rue de Phalsbourg, Paris.
 1908 Persichetti, Marchese Niccolò, Terni, Italy.
 1906 Serbat, M. Louis, 8, Rue Chateaubriand, Paris, VIII^e.
 Travers, M. Emile, 18, Rue de Chanoines, Caen.
-

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- 1888 BIRMINGHAM, Central Free Library.
 1899 BRADFORD, Public Free Library.
 1890 BRIGHTON, Public Library.
 1902 BRISTOL, Central Library.
 1890 CAMBRIDGE, Christ's College Library.
 1872 „ Trinity College Library.
 1892 DORSET, County Museum, Dorchester.

- 1894 HULL, Subscription Library, Albion Street.
 1908 „ Free Libraries.
 1879 LEEDS, Public Library.
 1900 „ The Leeds Library, Commercial Street.
 1872 LEICESTER, Town Museum.
 1872 LINCOLN, Lincoln and Nottingham Archaeological Society,
 c/o E. M. Sympson, Esq., Deloraine Court, Lincoln.
 1884 LIVERPOOL, Free Public Library, c/o Exors. of G. G.
 Walmsley, 50, Lord Street, Liverpool.
 1844 LONDON, The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, W.
 1906 „ Messrs. Asher & Co. (4 *copies*), 13, Bedford
 Street, W.C.
 1896 „ Messrs. H. Grevel & Co., 33, King Street, W.C.
 1884 „ Guildhall Library, E.C.
 1898 „ Inner Temple Library, E.C.
 1899 „ Kilburn Public Library, N.W.
 1863 „ London Library, S.W.
 1872 „ Royal Institution, The, W.
 1906 „ Elliot Stock, Esq., 61 & 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.
 1895 „ Messrs. Wesley & Son, 28, Essex Street, W.C.
 1906 „ Messrs. Wyman & Sons, Ltd., Fetter Lane, E.C.
 1872 MANCHESTER, Public Free Library.
 1872 „ Chetham's Library.
 1872 NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, Literary and Philosophical Society.
 1895 NOTTINGHAM, Free Public Library.
 1905 OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum.
 1897 SHERBORNE School Library, c/o Mr. F. Bennett.
 1906 WEST HAM, Public Library, Stratford, E.
 1872 IRELAND, CORK, Queen's College.
 1899 „ DUBLIN, Science and Art Department, c/o
 Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104, Grafton
 Street, Dublin.
 1900 „ DUBLIN, National Library of Ireland, c/o
 Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104, Grafton
 Street, Dublin.
 1895 SCOTLAND, EDINBURGH, The Royal Scottish Museum.
 1878 „ GLASGOW, University Library, c/o Messrs.
 MacLehose.
 1895 AUSTRALIA, MELBOURNE, Public Library, c/o Agent-
 General for Victoria, 142, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
 1860 CANADA, TORONTO, Public Library, c/o Messrs. C. D.
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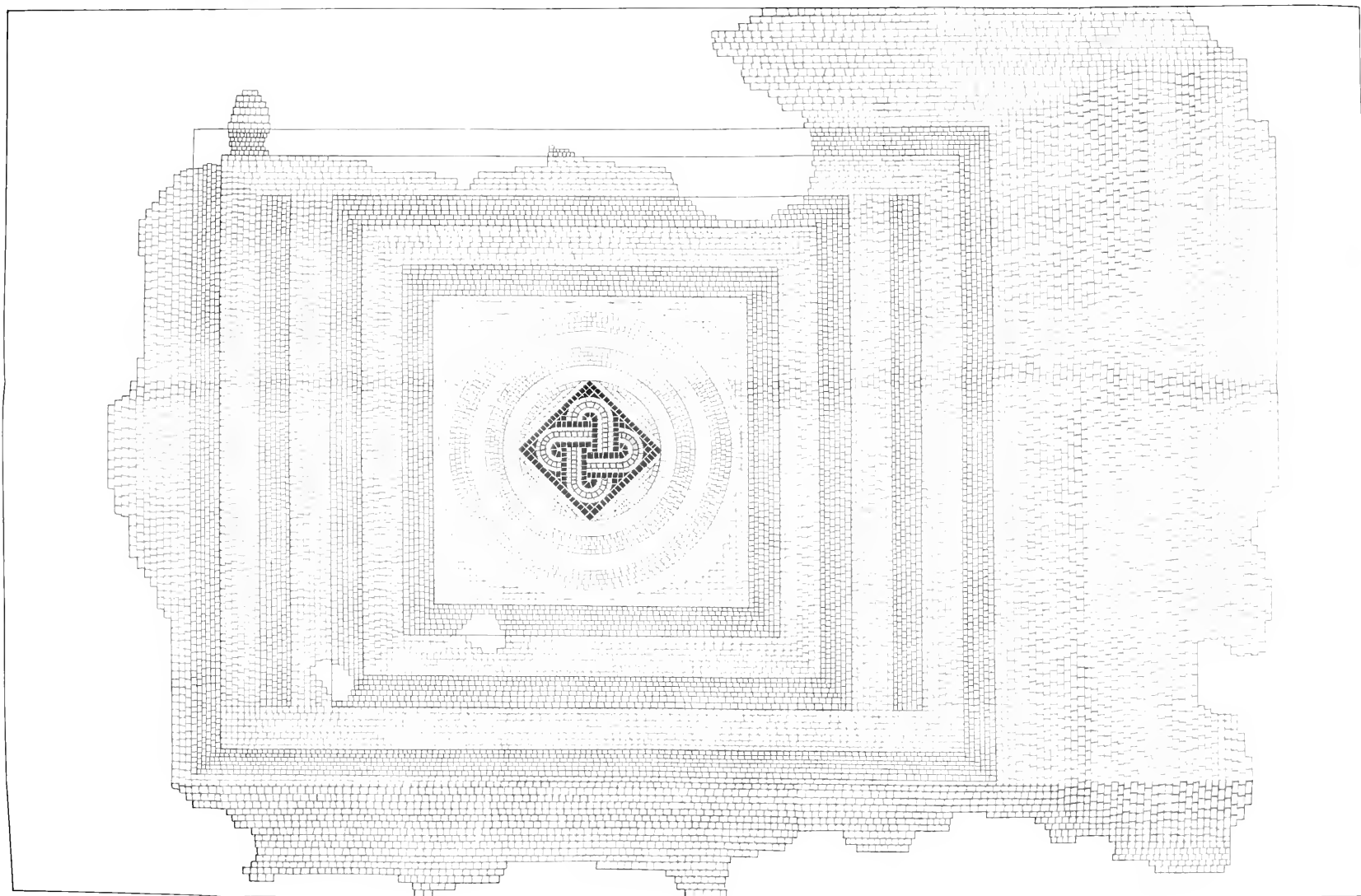
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THE LIPPEN WOOD ROMAN VILLA, WEST MEON, HANTS.
EXCAVATED 1905-6.

By A. MORAY WILLIAMS, B.A.

The following report is a completed record of the excavations carried out in 1905-6 on the site of the Roman Villa in Lippen Wood, West Meon, Hants, a preliminary account of which appeared in the *Archaeological Journal* last year (Vol. lxii, No. 248, pp. 262-264).

The plan of the house is now determined as fully as the nature of the site will permit. The surrounding ground has been trenched and examined, showing in all directions natural undisturbed soil, and I am satisfied that the house extends no further than the area represented in our plan. This will be seen to be of a somewhat unusual nature. In the first place, it is small, covering a space of no more than 140 by 60 feet; and in the second place, it conforms to neither of the two usual types (courtyard or corridor) of Romano-British dwelling-houses. In spite of its small extent, it contains indications of luxury, sufficient to leave no doubt of its having been a substantial and important habitation. The walls were well built, the entrance gateway was elaborate, while out of sixteen determined chambers three had patterned mosaic floors and at least three others were paved with *tesserae*. Three were fitted with *hypocausts*, of which two were probably connected with bath-rooms. The peculiarity of the plan consists in the complete absence of corridors, though in other respects it may be said to resemble that of an ordinary courtyard house. That is to say, the main arrangement is a system of dwelling rooms surrounding on three sides an open court.

But the area thus covered comprises quite a small rectangle, and the actual living-rooms are confined to one end of this, the southern half being divided between

bath-rooms and servants' quarters (or outhouses) built on two distinct levels.

Of the scores of Romano-British houses that have been excavated, those in the towns conform—practically without exception—to the two above-mentioned types, while the isolated country-houses, which belong to the Villas, do so so frequently that the few exceptions, such as the present one, which do occur are especially interesting. In the Hampshire region itself I believe that only two other such exceptions have been found—at Carisbrook and at Clanville. (*Vict. Co. Hist. Hants*, i, pp. 296 and 316.) They occur in other counties, but until more of them have been uncovered it is probably premature to label them as a third and distinctive type.

When one gets into the country districts, it is, after all, only to be expected that the architects should have departed occasionally from the stereotyped plan. These houses may have been adaptations of earlier buildings, or the owner may have been his own architect and built solely in accordance with his own requirements. Or, again, his plan may have had to adapt itself to the peculiarities of a specially attractive site. Such may well have been the case with this West Meon house. It stands on ground which rises gently for about three-quarters of a mile from the village of West Meon, but falls away somewhat irregularly towards the west; and it is on the crest of this slope, with a glorious south-west view towards the hills, that the house is placed. There was hardly room for a larger house. As it is, the varying depths of chalk and flint foundations show the extent to which the summit was adapted to receive it. On the south side the fall is rather more abrupt, and the building here, in consequence, is terraced, a sloping bank surmounted by a thick retaining wall dividing the outhouses above from the baths below. This slope is hardened with a mortar face, and doubtless steps at one time gave access from the lower to the upper level.

The walls as a rule are from 2 to 3 feet thick, but a glance at the plan will show that along the west front of the house, which comes right up to the edge of the slope, an additional thickness and, at one point, a buttress were deemed necessary.

The material for building this house was derived mainly from local sources. It is situated in the Chalk-down country, half-way between Winchester and Petersfield. Consequently the main features of its construction are chalk-and-flint foundations and flint-and-mortar walls. Brick was used sparingly, only for essentials, such as the floors, and for especially important points, such as the buttress. For quoins much use was made of the green sandstone, which could be obtained from the country round Petersfield. A course of this material occurs in the bricked buttress, and it was also used for the supports of door-jambs and of the pillars which probably fronted the entrance gateway.

In a few cases dwarf-walls supported lighter construction of the lath-and-plaster description, but in the case of the majority the flints were probably continued to the wall's full height. For the tessellated and mosaic floors the builder, as usual, depended for his colours upon nature or the oven. The red and black *tesserae* are due to firing, the grey is lias, the white a hard chalk, the yellow an oolite. The roofing slabs are of the two usual types, hexagonal slabs of limestone or of the local "shell" stone, and the rectangular flanged brick *tegulae* and *imbrices*. The former are far more frequent in this house, though possibly only because they have not proved such attractive spoil. Mortar was used lavishly, but the finer *opus signinum* is less in evidence. The pottery and other domestic features of the house will be dealt with later.

The site of this Villa is no isolated one. In the immediate vicinity, at Bramdean, East Meon, Corhampton, Droxford, Twyford, Bishop's Waltham, in fact all along the Meon Valley, traces of Roman occupation have been found and in some cases explored, while many still await excavation.¹ The *Villa* system evidently flourished in this district, for there was much in favour of its security. This part of the island received the benefits of an early Romanization, and the development of its Romano-British life was, owing either to the thoroughness

¹ I am undertaking during this season and next the excavation of two more villas in this district.

of its conquest or to the easy temperament of its inhabitants, free from interruption. It is possible that the Bramdean and West Meon houses represent adjoining estates, but excavation has yielded nothing datable in either case. Coins by themselves are unreliable, and, as a matter of fact, at West Meon, not a single coin was found. The name Meon itself is a relic of the Keltic tribe which history assigns to this locality. Later the valley became a Jutish settlement, but whether its Romano-British life became at an early date merged in that of its Anglo-Saxon settlers, or continued side by side with it until the final disappearance of direct Roman influence, is a problem which at present cannot be solved.

The villas in this district seldom show signs of burning or of hurried evacuation. Plundered they certainly are, but I do not think that there is much evidence to show that this was the work of conquerors. There are far more indications of the plundering of deserted houses by searchers for building material than of the looting by invaders of still inhabited abodes.

These villas were within easy reach of Roman roads. North of them Ermine Street connected Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum) with Winchester (Venta Belgarum) in one direction and with London in the other. From Winchester a good road led to Southampton (Clausentum) and thence through Bitterne and Portchester to Chichester (Regnum), from which point it continued under the name of Stane Street in a north-easterly direction to London through the Weald; and doubtless minor roads, whose traces have disappeared, were additional aids to the social and commercial development of the district.

With this brief survey of the general features and surroundings of the Lippen Wood Villa, we may pass on to a more detailed examination of its plan. The house was entered through a gateway in the middle of its eastern wall (see Plate VIII). Immediately fronting this gateway were two square blocks of green sandstone, 10 feet apart, which may have supported columns, indicating in that case an entrance of some architectural pretensions. Nothing was found in the nature of a stone sill. A large

iron nail lay in the débris near the northern block. Through this gateway was entered the courtyard, extending to the western limit of the building, and flanked north and south by the two separate divisions of the house. There was nothing in it that calls for special comment. It was covered with a two-inch layer of hard mortar on the top of chalk, while fragments of brick tiling here and there showed perhaps that part, or all, was paved. Nine small slabs of stone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick and varying from 4 inches to 7 inches square, turned up in different places here. There was not a trace of mortar adhering to them.

The excavations have furnished no clue as to the source from which the house obtained its water supply; nothing in the shape of tank or well could be traced either in this yard or elsewhere. The nearest running water is nearly a mile distant.

North of the courtyard was a group of ten living-rooms, some of them elaborately floored. Three of these constituted possibly a lobby and hall, on either side of which the remainder were ranged.

Room No. 1 may be termed the lobby, a small chamber measuring 11 feet square and paved with coarse red *tesserae*, with a 4-inch border strip of white ones along its south side. As however only the central part of this strip remained, it is probable that this indicated the position of the actual doorway leading to Room No. 4 immediately south of it, especially as these white *tesserae* continued the pattern of the mosaic in that room. This lobby communicated directly with what I have called the hall (Nos. 2 and 3) and with Rooms 4 and 5, south and north of it respectively. The partition on each of these three sides consisted probably of folding-doors or curtains, for the *tesserae* in each case ran on over sleeper walls. Between Rooms 1 and 2 the doorway may have been more elaborate, for on one side (see plan) the moulded oblong base of a door-post, with the red paint adhering, still remained *in situ*. Room No. 2 ($17' 0'' \times 9' 9''$) was divided from No. 3 ($11' 0'' \times 9' 9''$) by a similar partition, the *tesserae* running on as before. The floor of these two rooms was in places very much sunk, this being due to the compression of the chalk

foundations and not, as I at first supposed, to the presence of a hypocaust beneath them.

Room No. 4 (Plate I) measured 11 feet in width, but its length could not be determined accurately owing to the entire disappearance of its south wall. It was floored with fairly small red *tesserae* ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch square) with a central panel of mosaic, which is very perfect still. This consisted of a system of contained geometrical figures in white on a red ground, centreing in a knotwork pattern in red, black, white, and greyish blue (Plate VI). The margin of red at the south end was wider than at the north, the object being probably to keep the furniture clear of the mosaic design. This pavement also had sunk considerably, but there was no hypocaust beneath it.

On the other side of the lobby, Room No. 5 (measuring 21' 0" \times 10' 9") was floored with the usual coarse *tesserae*, and a central panel of finer mosaic, 13' 6" \times 7' 6" in red, black, white, and greyish blue. This panel was divided by braidwork bordering into three compartments (Plate VII), of which the central one was a 5-foot square, and the two outer ones rectangles measuring 5' 0" \times 2' 0". In the central square were inscribed two interlacing squares of narrower braidwork enclosing an octagon which may have contained a figure but was wholly destroyed. The corner interstices of this compartment were filled with floral ornament. The rectangles which flanked it on either side each contained sixty small squares divided into black and white triangles and were bordered with an indented pattern of similar colouring. The whole floor was in a very damaged condition, only just enough being left to show the original design. This room, although situated in the north-east corner of the house, was not warmed by any hypocaust. A slight discolouring of the *tesserae* across the middle of the western band of outer braidwork may be due to a brazier, but from its position it is more likely, if it represents burning at all, to be the result of a casual fire at a later period. All the wall-plaster found in this chamber was painted red. A feature of the coarse tessellation bordering the mosaic was the number of *tesserae* made roughly of stone and interspersed with the red, regardless



ROOM NO. 4.



ROOM NO. 7. WITH HYPOCAUST BENEATH.

of appearances. As this is confined to the south end of the room it may mean that a large piece of furniture covered the untidiness of the repairs.

The room immediately west of this (No. 6) was the largest in the house, measuring $20' 0'' \times 18' 6''$; its floor, which has entirely vanished, may have been paved, but nothing in the shape of tile or *tesserae* was found to warrant this assumption. Its size, however, points to it having been a room of some importance. Adjacent to its west wall at 10 feet from the south end was a square block of sandstone *in situ*, and the presence in the south-west corner of a loose fragment of similar stone suggests the possibility of these having supported the jambs of a doorway leading into Room No. 7. A few fragments of wall-plaster were found in this chamber, coloured red and yellow.

Next to it, in the north-west corner of the house, was situated the Winter Room of the establishment (No. 7), measuring $20' 0'' \times 10' 9''$ (Plate II). Its pavement had been destroyed by searchers for building material from the hypocaust which lay beneath it. This hypocaust was of the composite type, viz., a central square pit, with passages of the same depth diverging from it to the wall-flues. The dimensions of this pit were 5 feet 9 inches in each direction, and it contained originally twelve *pilae* formed of small brick tiles 8 inches square and 1 inch thick, with mortar joints of an equal thickness. These *pilae*, of which three only remained *in situ*, stood 9 inches apart upon a mortar floor, the base tile in each case being a larger one measuring $11' 0'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$.¹ The width of the diverging passages varied from 7 inches to a foot, leaving solid blocks, formed of chalk and mortar, to complete the support of the floor above. In two of these channels fragments of box-tiles were found, but along the walls not a vestige of these remained. The height of the *pilae* was probably 18 inches.

The stoke-hole which fed this hypocaust was situated probably north of it, but I have no evidence for this beyond the direction of what appears to be the main channel.

¹ This measurement was uniform, and occurs again in the base tiles of the hypocausts in Rooms 11 and 12.

An examination of the débris fallen into the pit and channels showed that a section of the *suspensura* (i.e., the actual floor of the dwelling-room supported by the *pilae*, etc.) consisted of a stratum of rather rough *opus signinum* and then a layer of fine mortar in which the *tesserae* were set, forming altogether a thickness of some $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This suspended floor was paved with a mosaic, sufficient fragments of which were found, fallen into the hypocaust below, to show the main features of its design, which was a conventional one of the geometrical type in black, white, and yellow, enclosed by the ordinary four-coloured braidwork, and the whole bordered by coarse red *tesserae*. This design must have been somewhat similar to that of Room No. 5, and the dimensions of these two rooms are the same. The wall-plaster of this chamber was ornamented with thin red lines on a white ground.

At the south-west corner of the Winter Room the outer wall was supported by a well-built buttress (Plate III) $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet square at its base, and cased in large brick tiles (14 inches by 11 inches) with a sandstone course 9 inches from the ground. The core of this buttress was formed of rough cement. As the lower plinth alone remains, it is hard to say whether the brick casing was continued above the sandstone course or not.

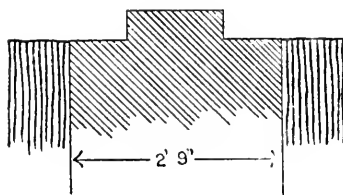


FIG. 1.—SECTION OF WALL AND DOOR SILL BETWEEN ROOMS 2 AND 8.
(FROM A TO B ON PLATE VIII.)



PLATE III.—BUTTRESS SUPPORTING WEST WALL.



PLATE IV.—DOOR SILL BETWEEN ROOMS 2 AND 8.

Of the three remaining rooms on this side of the courtyard, No. 8 probably corresponded in dimensions to No. 6. All traces of its flooring had gone, with the exception of two patches of coarse *opus signinum*, which may indicate either the original floor or the undersetting of the *tesserae*. This room was approached from No. 2, and the sill of the doorway, 6 feet in length, is still well preserved (Plate IV and Fig. 1). The wall at the south end had entirely vanished, as in Room 4. No traces even of its foundations remained. Along the north and west walls coloured plaster (red, blue, and white) lay in profusion, though in a very fragmentary condition. And it is unlikely that a room so decorated should have been exposed on its south-west side. The idea of a verandah may therefore be dismissed.

The east wall, to which some of the painted stucco was still adhering, was only 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, for a reason which a subsequent discovery made obvious. Close to it, on the floor level, was found a small and isolated deposit of a rich and somewhat peculiar clay about 6 inches thick. At first its significance was not clear to me, but later, in reading the 1901 Silchester Report on Insula xxvii (*Archaeologia*, Vol. lviii) I came across some facts which showed the discovery to be an important one. In the excavation of House No. 1 of this Insula, Mr. St. John Hope found similar deposits of clay, about 18 inches thick, over many of the rooms, for the presence of which he was at first unable to account. The solution of the problem came from a chance visit which he made to a deserted seventeenth-century cottage. "The lowest courses of the walls," he says, "were of brick. On them rested a timber framework, pinned together, filled in in the lower storey with lathing covered with clay, and in the upper storey with wattlework covered with clay. . . . When the timber framing has been removed for spoil, all that will remain of the cottage will be its brick floor buried beneath a layer of broken bricks and lumps of clay and rotting thatch; and a few years of rain and frost will reproduce almost exactly what we have found in our Silchester house." I concluded, therefore, that this clay deposit in Room No. 8 was due to the same cause. The wall beneath which it lay was a low

dwarf wall, narrow and of lighter masonry. It must have supported a timber framework filled in with clay-covered laths. Rooms Nos. 9 and 10 were small, and their flooring had entirely disappeared.

From the buttress the west wall of the house, along the edge of the slope, was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. It was well-built for a distance of some 50 feet, at which point it somewhat abruptly ended. It is probable, however, that it once joined up with Rooms 11 and 12.

These two chambers, together with the small one next to them, No. 13, seem to have been the baths of the establishment (Plate V.) They form a group, in the south-west corner, which is isolated from the rest of the house on the north side by the end of the courtyard, on the east by a bank surmounted by a thick wall. Nos. 11 and 12 were parallel chambers of equal size, each of which had an apsidal termination and was fitted with a hypocaust of brick *pilae* on a floor paved with large tiles measuring 16 inches by 11 inches. In Room No. 12 the floor and *pilae* were fairly well preserved, but in No. 11 both had been almost entirely removed. The bricks of the *pilae* measured 8 inches square, the lowest one, however, as was the case in Room No. 7, measuring 11 inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. One of these, in the south apse, was scored with a workman's comb in the same manner as the flue-tiles.

The east wall of these two chambers was furnished by the natural slope of the bank, smoothed and hardened, and this had been somewhat curiously used as a substitute for the lower parts of the *pilae* near it. (Fig. 2.)

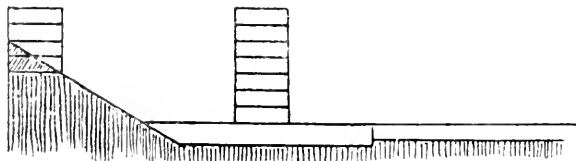


FIG. 2.—SECTION OF PILAE.



THE BATHS.

3/05

A thick transverse wall (see plan), cutting across the two apses obliquely and still standing 14 inches high, was probably a later insertion. It is hard to account for its presence. It passed over the brick tiles of the floor, and though these in Room 11 had been mostly removed, yet inside the segment which this wall made with the northern apse they were still remaining *in situ*. It is not wide enough to be the base of a system of steps leading down into the bath. We can only suggest that these apses would certainly weaken the main outer wall of the building very considerably at this point, and that this later wall was built, sacrificing the apses, owing to a threatened failure of the foundations.

In excavating these chambers no *tesserae* were found. Mortar débris to a depth of quite three feet was removed, but there was no *opus signinum*. Painted wall-plaster turned up frequently, coloured green on a white ground. On one large piece something in the nature of a floral pattern could be faintly traced. A drain-passage ran west from the northern apse, and in it was found a curved fragment, some 6 inches in diameter, painted red, which seemed to belong to a small plaster column. A similar arrangement of two apsidal chambers side by side was met with in the excavation of the Box Villa in Wiltshire by Mr. Harold Brakspear in 1903.¹ In this case, too, each was fitted with a hypocaust, and an adjoining chamber at any rate was proved to be a bath. There, again, the group was apart from the main living-rooms of the house.

Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, too, found the same thing in a villa at Painswick in Gloucestershire. It is quite conceivable that the baths even of the country houses of Roman Britain should have sometimes imitated on a humbler scale their luxurious models of Italy.

Room 13 (11' 0" × 7' 0") was divided from Room 12 by a flint wall (2 feet wide) faced on each side with a thin coating of mortar. Its west wall was no less than 7 feet in width, and was faced on the inside with mortar. The floor of this room was on the same level as that of

¹ See *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. lxi, No. 241, p. 22. Plan of Roman Villa at Box. Chedworth too, I believe, has a similar feature.

the hypocaust of Rooms 11 and 12. It was a mortar floor, and there were no traces of a hypocaust. The smallness of this chamber, the depth of its floor, and its proximity to the two rooms just mentioned, would seem to point to its having also contained a bath. It may have been entered by a doorway in its south-east corner, the actual bath being approached by steps. The great foundation of masonry along the west side was doubtless meant to strengthen this corner of the building.

In the outer side of this wall, 6 feet from its south end, was a good quoin made of four courses of green sandstone and two of tile. I do not think that this was an original corner. It seemed to be merely an additional strengthening of the wall at an important point.

These three chambers, 11, 12, and 13, were about six feet lower than the rest of the building south of the courtyard. A hardened bank, immediately east of them, had a wall 32 feet long and 5 feet thick along its edge. Its position seemed to account for its thickness. It must have risen to some considerable height, for its débris lay for several feet from its eastern side, along its whole length. At 4 feet from its north end it narrowed down somewhat curiously to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Beyond this wall, in the south-east corner of the house, the plan of the building was very incoherent. A large oak tree, situated in the middle of it, interfered with the excavation to no small extent, and the masonry immediately round it was badly broken up by its roots. The walls that could be followed were very wide and of a rough construction. It is possible that outhouses or stables covered this area. No. 14 had a tiled floor, but little of it remained and its north wall could not be traced. No. 15 may have been a yard—an extension of the central court. The presence, in the middle of it, of some large tiles (16 by 11 inches) *in situ* (see plan) might represent the original flooring of the whole, but they were laid at a decided angle with the outer wall. They showed traces of burning, as did the earth round them. Room 16, with its different orientation, was possibly a later addition. It could not be traced to its full extent. Its north wall was faced on the inside with a white stucco ornamented with thin red lines, but such ornamentation in a Romano-

British house need not necessarily denote a living room. In the excavation of this house very few smaller "finds" turned up. Of these the most interesting was a bronze bracelet, a small antler of the roebuck, which may have been used as an ornament for the hair, and a fragment of tile with the impress of a small hoof. Other finds comprised the usual painted stucco in profusion, roofing-slabs and tiles, nails, oyster and other shells, animal bones, etc. The bones were of the horse, ox, goat, hare, domestic pig, and roebuck. I was informed that there was nothing at all remarkable in these, except that those of the ox were very small and probably belonged to the small Keltic breed whose nearest present-day relative is the Kerry cow.

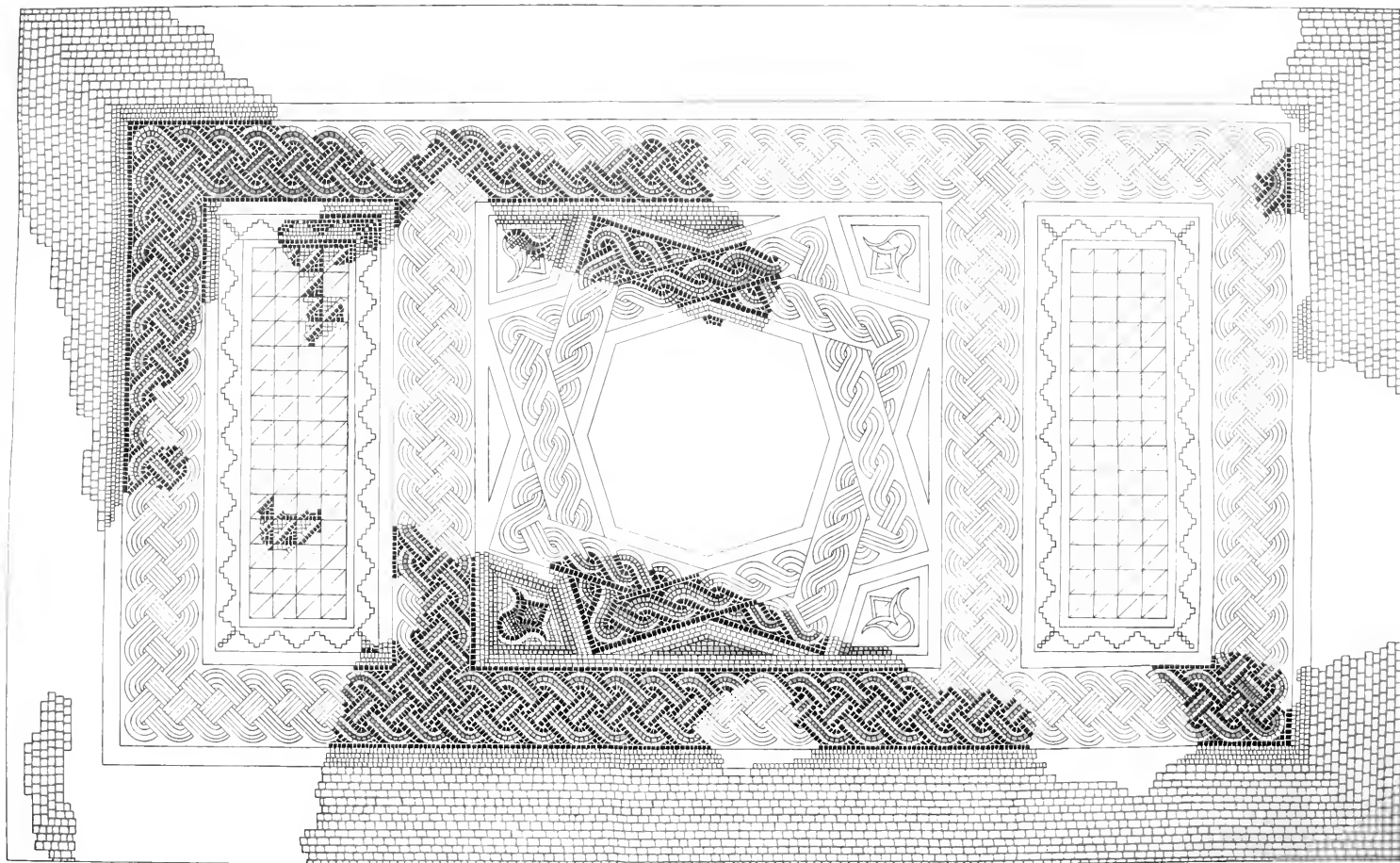
Pottery fragments were found in abundance, but in no instance was it possible to reconstruct a whole vessel. The commonest was the coarse black ware, but many pieces of Upchurch, New Forest, and Caistor pottery were found; a few also of Samian, and its British imitation.

Not a single coin turned up during our excavation, or anything datable, and none of the tiles or sherds were stamped.

There is but one more thing to be mentioned. About a hundred yards south of the Villa we came across a deep deposit of black earth containing rude potsherds and iron-slag. The latter, examined by Dr. H. B. Baker, F.R.S., was found to contain rather more iron than would be usual in modern slag. This deposit may indicate some smithy which may or may not have been connected with the house. The iron worked in it may have been obtained from the Weald clay, distant some ten or twelve miles east of West Meon, or from locally quarried pyrites, though the chalk would hardly yield the latter in sufficient quantities.

In conclusion, I would state that this excavation was conducted by members of Bedales School, Petersfield, and that the plans which accompany this Report are the work of one of the boys. From the beginning of the undertaking until its close we were helped by D. Meinertzhagen, Esq., of Brockwood Hall, the owner of the wood, who, by providing us with two labourers and by generously placing

other facilities at our disposal, enabled us to overcome the difficulties of a somewhat inconvenient site. We have to record our very great indebtedness to him for this assistance, without which the excavation could never have been carried out.



Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Feet

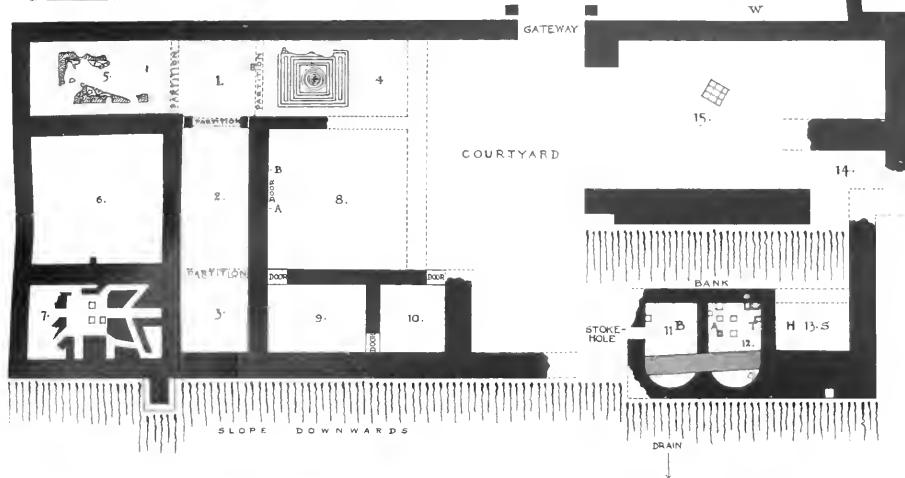
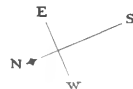
H.M. Gimson, Mens. et Del.

71

71

PLAN OF ROMAN VILLA. LIPPEN WOOD
ON THE BROCKWOOD ESTATE. WEST MEON. HANTS. EXCAVATED 1905-06.

Scale 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 Feet



- ASCERTAINED MASONRY.
- INFERRED MASONRY.
- LATER WORK.
- RED TESSERÆ OR BRICKWORK.
- BROKEN PAVEMENT OR OPUS SIGNINUM.





THOMAS, EARL OF SALISBURY.



THE BESAGUE OR MOTON.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, V.P.S.A.

The first of these words has so far defeated all attempts at explanation. In the instances where it occurs, it is clear from the context that it refers to a part of the military equipment and not to a weapon, but to what part of the armour it is not easy to decide. It will perhaps be best to work backwards from what we may consider the latest mention of it to instances of earlier occurrence, and to begin with John Rous' life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, contained in the beautiful Cottonian MS. Julius E. IV. This was written about 1490, and, according to Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., illustrated by a Flemish artist, although the short descriptions of the pictures are in English. Plate xxxvi of Vol. II of Strutt's *Horda* gives a picture of a fight on horseback between the Earl of Warwick and "a famous knyght Sir Hugh Laundy callyng hymself the Chevaler Blanke . . . at a certeyne day and place assigned, that is to sey the xii day of Christmasse, in a lawnde called the Park Hedge of Gymes."

The text says "the erle smote up his visar thries, and brake his besagues and other harneys, all his apparaile saved." The Plate certainly shows the visor raised by the earl's lance, but no other damage to the Chevaler's armour is visible.

Going backward now a little we may refer to the Hastings MS. described in Vol. lvii of *Archaeologia*. Nowhere in this MS. is the word besague used, but we have in "How a man schall be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote," a picture of the knight being armed. On the trestle table by him lies a piece of armour composed of some eight overlapping lames of metal, and attached to this arm defence is a hexagonal plate with invected margins. This arrangement of metal we may take to be the "rerebrasse" and "moton"

mentioned in the same MS. among the details of the "Abilment for the just of Pees." Here then we have the attached piece called a *moton*, and I suppose this is the authority for the term used by so many writers, though where the term "*palet*," also used by modern writers, came from I have not been able to discover.

Going yet farther back in date we may consider the MS. entitled "Johan Hyll's Traytese of the Poyntes of Worship in Armes that longeth to a Gentilman in Armes,"¹ which was evidently written before the year 1434, the date when died the "*Auctor*, Johan Hyll, Armorer and Sergeant in th' office of Armorye with kynges Henry IV. and Henry V." In the arming of the Appellant in a "Battaile of Treasone sworne withinne Listes," we find at the completion of the armament "and tharne tye on hym a paire of besgewes." And in speaking of the weapons to be used by the Appellant, the following are mentioned, "A Spere, a Long Swerde, a Short Swerde, and a Dagger fastened upon hymself: his swerds fretted and beasgewed afore the hiltes and afore the handes, her pomelles nere her hiltes havynge noo maner of poyntes; for and ther be founden that day on hym moo poyntes of wepons thanne foure it shall tourne hym to greet reproof."

In the romance of Partonopex c. 1440 the Arsenal copy mentions that Sornegur had hanging at one side of his saddle bow his *biesaguè*, while at the other side he had his *misericorde*. The English version of the romance written about 1390 says, "On each Shulder of Steele a a besagew." Here we have the same locality given to the besagew as in the Ashmolean MS. of forty years later. It is true that the English version here widely departs from the French original, but evidently the English writer did not recognise the two-edged axe, and so he altered the text to what he did understand.

In the romance of Clariodes of the fifteenth century we again find the besagues localized

"Wambras with wings and rerebras thereto,
And thereon sette were besaguys."

¹ This MS., No. 856, of the Ashmolean collection, has been printed in *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*,

by the Roxburgh Society, and was edited by the late W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., in 1840.

From these extracts it would seem as if the besagues were the *motons* and *palets* of modern writers.

In Lydgate's *Troye Booke* translated and written by him 1414-1420, and printed by R. Pinson in 1513, we have a distinct and interesting mention of the besagues. It occurs in the third book, and is so valuable that I must quote the portion of the poem referring to the Trojan knights arming for battle. The poet's apology in the latter verses is hardly needed considering what an interesting contemporary account he gives of the armament of a knight at the commencement of the fifteenth century.

“ The famous knyghtes arme them in ye place,
 And some of them gan full streyte lace,
 Theyr doublettes made of linnen clothe,
 A certayne folde that about hym gothe,
 And some also dempte¹ most sureste,
 To arme them for batayle of areste,
 And dyde on firste after theyr desyres,
 Sabatons greues cussues with voydres,²
 A payre breche alder firste³ of mayle,
 And some there were that eke ne wolde fayle,
 To have of mayle a payre bras,
 And ther withald as the custom was
 A payre gussettes on a pety cote,
 Garnysshed with golde up unto the throte,
 A paunce⁴ of plate whiche of the selfe behynde,
 Was shet and close and theron as I fynde
 Enuron was a bordure of smalle mayle,
 And some chose of the new entayle,⁵
 For to be surmyd of all their foos,
 An hole breste plate with arere doos,⁶
 Behynde shet or elles on the syde,
 And on his armes rynged nat to wyde,
 There were voyders frettyd⁷ in the mayle,
 With cordes rounde and of fresshe entayle,
 Vambras with wynges and rerebras thereto,
 And theron sette were besaguys also,
 Upon the hede a basenet of stele,
 That within locked was full wele,
 A crafty syght wrought in the vyser,
 And some wolde have of plate a baver,
 That on the breste fastened be aforne
 The canell pece⁸ more esy to be borne,
 Gloves of plate of stele forged bryght,

¹ deem it.

² small pieces of chain mail.

³ first of all. ⁴ belly defence.

⁵ shape.

⁷ interlaced.

⁶ back plate.

⁸ collar bone.

And some wolde armed be more lyght,
 In thykkes Jackes covered with satyne,
 Some wolde have of mayle wrought ful fyne,
 An hauberion all of late wrought cassade,
 That with weyghte he be nat overlade
 Hymsefe to welde lyke a lyfty man,
 And some wyll have of choce geseran,
 On his doublet but an hauberion,
 And some oonly but a sure gepon,
 Over his poleyns¹ rechynge to the kne,
 And that the sleyns eke so longe be
 That his vambras may be cured² ner,
 A prycking palet of plate the cower,
 And some wyll have also no vyser,
 To save his face but oonly anaser,³
 And some wyll have a payre platys lyght,
 To welde hym wele whan that he shall fyght,
 And some wyll have a target or a spere,
 And some a pavys his body for to were,⁴
 And some a targe made stronge to laste,
 And some wyll have dartes for to caste,
 Some a pollax heded of fyne stele,
 And pycked square for to laste wele,
 And some a swerde his enemy for to mete,
 And some wyll have a bowe for to shete,
 Some an arblast to stande out asyde,
 And some on foot and some for to tyde,⁵
 Array themseffe their foomen for to sayle,
 And many one was besy for to nayle
 His felawes harneys for to make it stronge,
 And to dresse it sytte nat wronge,
 With poyntes tresshes and other maner thyng,
 That in suche ease longeth to armynge,
 I have no connyng every thyng to telle,
 And unto you were to longe to dwelle,
 Where I fayle ye mot have me excused,
 For in suche crafte I am lytell used
 And ignorance doth my penne lette,
 In theyr ordre my termys for to sette,
 And ofre chaungeth suche harneys and devyse,
 And ye that be therin expert and wyse,
 Dysdayne nat that I speke in this place,
 Of theyr armynge for all is in your grace,
 Right at your lyst to correecte every dell." ⁶

In the Wigmore Castle inventory of 1322 are mentioned three *paribus beseseus*.

This is perhaps an early date for the so-called *motons*, but in the brasses of a Bacon c. 1320 at Gorleston, St. John

¹ knee cap.

² never covered.

⁵ ride. ?

⁶ every part.

³ nose guard. ?

⁴ protect.

d'Abernon, 1327, at Stoke d'Abernon, and the Hastings brass at Elsing, 1347, in all of which we have plate defences for the (outside) of the upper arm, we see these discs of metal or rigid material, just at the armpit or shoulder, and similar ones at the arm bends. The "wambras with wings" of the Clariodes MS. may refer to these last which have been in modern times called fans. The "rerebras . . . and theron set were besaguys" of the same poem seem to refer to the former discs. In the Wigmore inventory there is "uno pectorali alias breast-plate in ij partibus cum ij wynghes." Here the upper pair of discs would be attached to the breast-plate and not as in the Clariodes Romance to the rerebras.

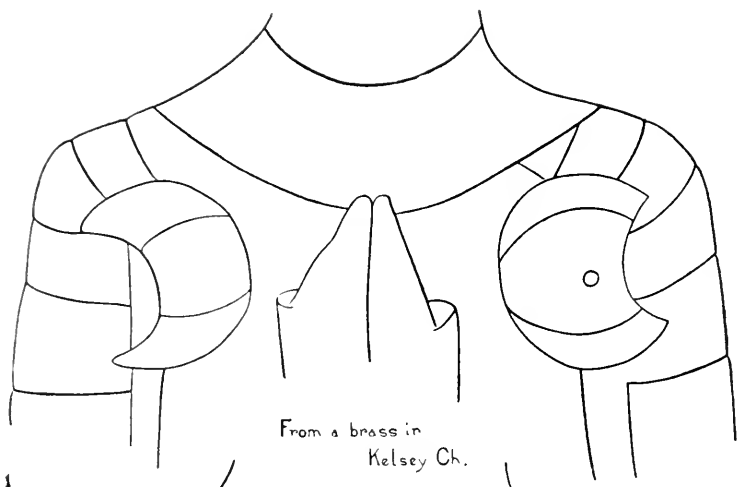
Coming to the arms and the mention of besagues in connection with swords it looks as though the word was applied to the roundels or discs seen on the swords used in foot combats. The fretting would apply to a lacing of cord, to give a firmer grip, such as we see on two-handed swords where the blade between the quillons and the lugs or projecting spurs¹ is covered with leather. With the estoc, or with the two-hand sword as used on foot, we see occasionally a disc of metal in place of the quillons. These discs or roundels of metal would be of about the same size as the motons or palets.²

Besagues are seen on many brasses and in different forms. The most usual are two circular plates such as are seen on the brasses of Lord Ferrers at Merevale, 1407, Drayton at Dorchester, 1411 (Fig. 4), Wylde at Codfield, 1422, Leventhorpe at Sawbridgeworth, 1433, and very many others of these dates. Oval plates on each side are seen in the brass of Freville at Shelford, 1405 (Fig. 8), and Wylcote at Great Tew, c. 1410 (Fig. 3). Oblong plates with rounded corners occur on the brasses of Phelip at Kidderminster, 1415 (Fig. 10) and Felbrigge at Felbrigg, 1416 (Fig. 9). In this last case the plates each bear the cross of St. George, as do the circular plates on the Swinburne brass of 1412. Shield-shaped plates

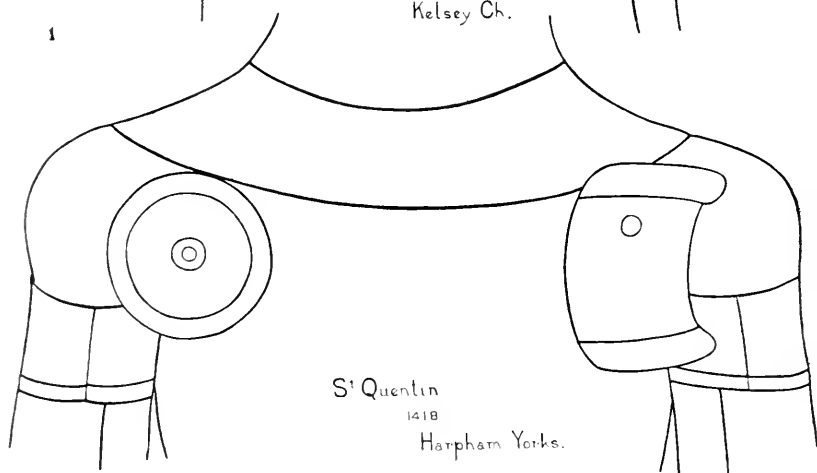
¹ Called in old Spanish inventories "falsaguardas."

² Unfortunately we have not found any definite mention of the word being

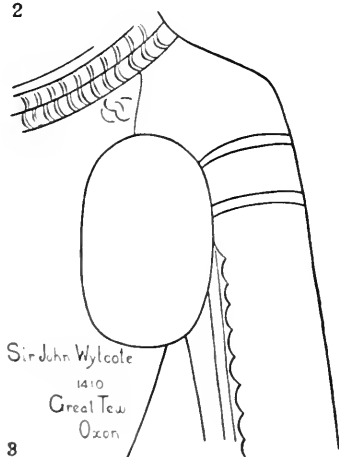
used for either of the above objects, but it seems probable that such was the term used in the fifteenth century, at least by English writers.



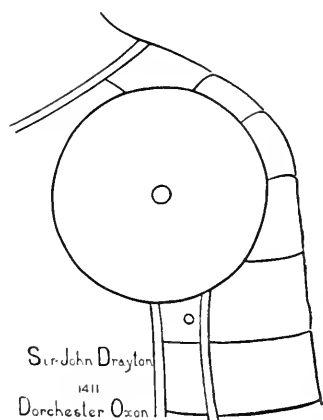
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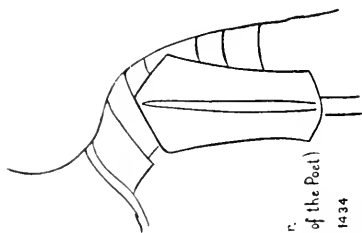
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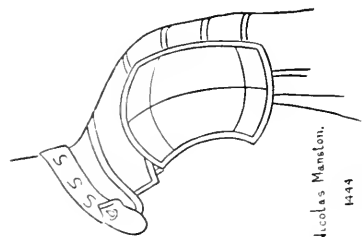


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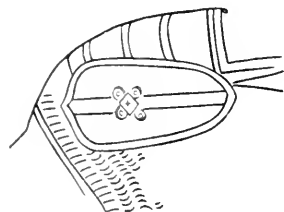
Chaucer.
(Son of the Poet)
1434
Ewelme
Oxon.

5



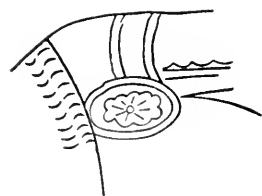
Nicolas Manston,
1444
St Laurence Kent

6



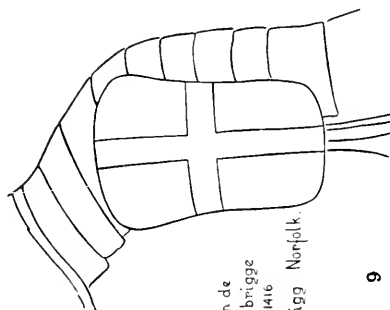
Nicholas Paris.
1425
Linton Cambs.

7



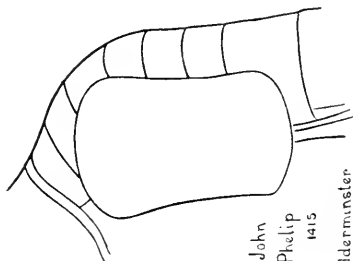
Freville.
c 1403
Little Shelford Cambs.

8



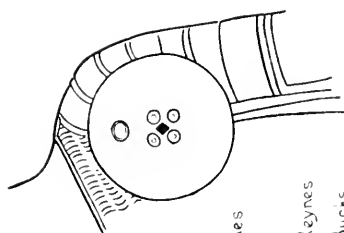
Sir Symon de
Felbrigge
1416
Felbrigg Norfolk

9



Sir John
Phelip
1415
Kidderminster

10



Sir John
Reynes
1499
Clifton Reynes
Bucks

11

with a central ridge are found on the Quartermaine brass at Thame, 1420, and on one at Linton, 1425 (Fig. 7). Somewhat similar plates are seen in the cases of the Chaucer brass at Ewelme, 1434 (Fig. 5), and Elmbrygge at Bedington, 1435. Another shape is seen on the Manston brass at St. Lawrence near Margate, 1444 (Fig. 6), where two plates in the form of shields with the upper and lower parts bent forward are employed. Then again in some cases we find different shapes used for the two arms. Thus the St. Quentin brass at Harpham, c. 1418 (Fig. 2), has a circular plate on the dexter side and a shield-shaped plate, like the Manston plate, on the sinister. A knight at Kelsey, c. 1410 (Fig. 1), has two different plates, somewhat resembling the Manston plates but more circular. The above are, of course, only a few of the varieties of shape to be seen on brasses. In a beautiful drawing in Harl. MS. 4826, representing Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury¹ (Plate I), receiving from the poet Lydgate (habited like a pilgrim) a copy of his poem entitled "The Pilgrim" (written in 1426), the Earl, who is in full armour but bare-headed, has two besagues of similar form, shaped like shields but inverted, the base points being uppermost. The points or laces for attaching the besagues are clearly shown. In brasses the attachment is generally shown as a diamond-headed nut, but the attachment by points or laces just as the elbow caps are seen attached in various effigies would appear to be the more suitable, as giving more play for the arms. Of the size of these plates, we may judge by the life-size brass of Sir John Drayton, which has circular plates 4 inches in diameter.

As to representation in the round of these besagues there are not so many instances as in brasses. Of these we may note Sir John de Wittlebury in Marholm church, c. 1410, who has oval plates, as has Ralph Greene of Northants, 1419, while Lord Bardolph in 1439 has leaf-shaped plates with invected upper edges.

German effigies sometimes show these besagues as in Hefner, where Peter of Stettenburg, 1441, and Conrad of Weinsberg, 1446, have shield-shaped plates ridged, and

¹ The Earl died 1428.

John of Erschbach, 1496, has circular plates with crosses. This last instance is very late, for in England the besagues do not appear on brasses or effigies later than the first half of the fifteenth century. If we are right in supposing that the Rous life of the Earl of Warwick belongs to the latter end of the century, it shows that the word besague was in use by some long after its appearance on funeral monuments. No doubt the increased size of the left shoulder defence obviated the necessity for its use on that part of the body, while for the right shoulder and arm-pit the disc or plate, suspended by a short strap, allowed for the couching of the lance under the arm.

Allowance must be made in the case of brasses for the difficulty of the artist to show all he wished. As an instance of this, we may note the curious points shown on each side of the neck in the brass of St. Quentin in Harpham church, c. 1418, and the brass in South Kelsey church, c. 1410. The peculiarity is explained at once on looking at the side views by Stothard of the effigy of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Pl. 108, where we see that the points should not have been shown on the brass, not being visible from in front.¹

¹ All the illustrations given are reduced from actual rubbings. Both besagues are shown only when the two differ in shape.

THE FEATHER STAFF.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, V.P.S.A.

Among various weapons prohibited in Sardinia in 1723 and 1729 are mentioned "*des estocs et des épées dans les batons.*" Of the first of these, the estocs, we know that they were straight and stiff swords, used in the fifteenth century in *combats in champ clos* and generally in succeeding periods. They were only for "the point," and were certainly not of a class that could be concealed by the bearer, and consequently not of the insidious nature of daggers, stiletos, or even the small sort of pistol which, from a *placart* or proclamation of the seventeenth century forbidding their use in the Austrian Netherlands, were known as "*mouchoirs*," a significant expression in connection with wiping out of a rival or enemy. Slang terms have often been used for weapons from early days, for we can hardly consider "a jolly popper" which Chaucer's Miller in the Reeve's Tale carried in his pouch as a strictly serious name for his knife. So also in 1547 Robert Bruen bequeaths "my dropper or hanger."

But the second weapon mentioned in the Sardinian proclamation might certainly be used treacherously. Sword sticks, though common and popular on the Continent, have always been looked on askance in England, save by boys. Still, the sword stick, or cane, is found not only in the West but also in the East. The *Gupti* or sword-stick (so called from the word meaning *hidden*) figures largely among Indian weapons. In the Indian Museum at South Kensington seven are mentioned by Lord Egerton in his valuable work on eastern arms. Of these, two are from Vizianagram, two from Bombay, and one from Lahore. This last one has a pistol hilt of ivory carved with low relief floriated ornaments painted and gilt, and the sheath is painted with gold floriated arabesques on a dark blue ground; it is 2 feet 11 inches long. Such a weapon might pass for a walking stick but could not be concealed.

In the Tower of London also are two *guptis*, but of most modest appearance and unsuspecting exterior.

M. L. Buttin notes that in the Bargello, Florence, is a rich sword stick of the sixteenth century, the blade bearing the name MARSON. This weapon has spring quillons. Turin¹ also has a fine example of late eighteenth-century work. But turning to a variety of the weapon in which one or more blades can, by a jerk, be ejected from the staff, we find a special name for it. In French it is known as the *Brin d'estoc* and in Italian as *Brandistocco*. A sixteenth-century example in Paris (K. 512) has a central blade of $30\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On each of the side blades appears the name DE LA GATA.

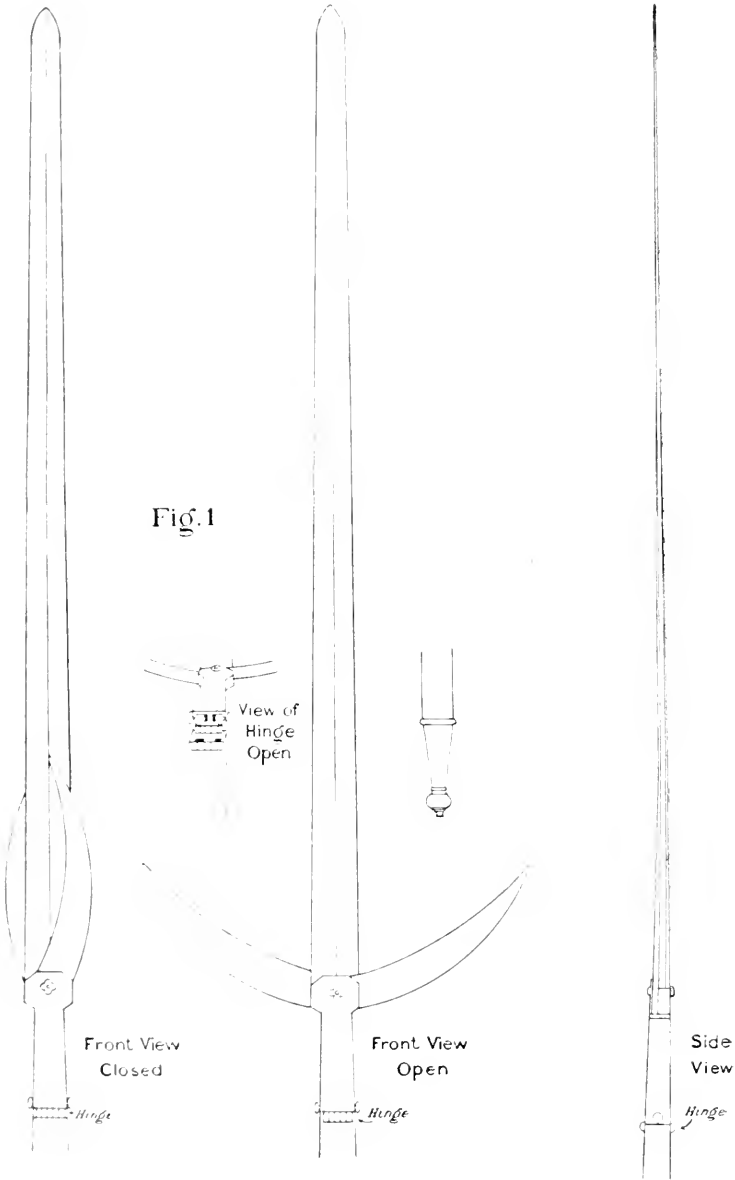
At Dresden, of Nos. G. 47, 48, 49, there called Runkas, No. 48 has a central blade of $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and all three blades are engraved with warlike devices; and No. 49 has the name BARTOLAM BIELLA on the side blades.² These arms are attributed to the period 1553-1586.

In the Museum at Munich is a feather staff with GATO on the side blade. At Berlin No. 5043 has COL . . . FE on the centre blade. The Vienna example, called by von Leber a *Wolfseisen*, is covered with *Tauschierarbeit* (damascening). The centre blade is 3 feet 10 inches long, when folded up the whole measures 3 feet $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches. When extended the extreme length is 7 feet 10 inches. The weapon is said to have come from the armoury of the Dukes of Friedland at Waldstein.

In the Armeria at Madrid there is a weapon that may be placed in the same class as the Brandistocco (Fig. 1). It is now numbered I. 96, and described as an articulated Corseque of Charles V. In former times it was absurdly attributed to Peter the Cruel, whose cause the English under the Black Prince espoused. It is figured by Jubinal at Plate xx, and by Lacombe on page 226. It may be described as a staff with a long centre blade and two curved side blades. The central blade is attached by a stout hinge to the head of the staff and may be bent down so as to lie close to the wood, by pressing two buttons which release catches at the hinge. The side blades are pivoted one on each side of the centre blade

¹ *Spiedo a forbice*, i, 237.

² Biella, according to Herr von Ehrenthal, is a town in the Italian province of Novara.



WEAPON OF CHARLES V. IN THE ARMERIA, MADRID.

and may be moved inwards so as to lie in the same line with and upon the centre blade. The side blades are somewhat curved and have sharp edges and points. Similar weapons are to be seen at Vienna, Berlin and Dresden, but this one has the blades engraved and gilt. The total length of the weapon when extended is about 7 feet 9 inches. When closed and bent down it becomes a staff of about 4 feet 6 inches, and might, like a feather staff, be held as a walking stick. Count Valencia considered it was for big game hunting.

At St. Petersburg is a so-called Stab-Runka, the middle blade of which is 28 inches long and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch broad at base. The four-sided branches are 9 inches long and $\frac{2}{3}$ inch broad; the weight of the whole weapon is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Each side blade is engraved "AL SEGNO DEL GATO." A similar inscription is found on the side blades of two in the Carlo Bazzero collection at Milan and one in the Rigg collection. In the Ullmann collection (sold in 1891) was a weapon described as a Spanischer Pilgerstab, on which was engraved "DEL GAT." In the Veste Coburg is another with the inscription "AL GATO."

In the Meyrick collection, Skelton has figured another weapon of this kind on which is engraved "ALSEGNO DEL COR," while in the Turin Armeria the inscription is "AL SEGNO DEL CORALO."

Count Wilczek has one bearing on the centre blade "STOGO CREMA," with the Spanish armourer Gio Batista's stamp. This inscription has been read by E. v. Liphart as the Venetian dialect for *sto*, I am, and *Crema* for Cremona, thus indicating its origin.

M. Edward v. Lenz, the learned curator of the Hermitage collection of arms and armour, in a communication to the *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, considers that in these inscriptions we have the maker's address. Confirmation of this idea is afforded by the inscription "IN MILANO AL SEGNO DEL GATO" on a long blade of some 39 inches. This blade had not been mounted, but was apparently for such an arm. M. v. Lenz quotes another instance of the address of an armourer being given in the case of J.174 in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, a dagger inscribed "FRANCESCHO SPADER AL INSEGNO

DAL MURION IN VENETIA FECCE." (Francesco sword cutler at the sign of the Morion in Venice made this.) M. v. Lenz expresses the desire for more instances of the abodes of armourers being noted.

In England the Brandistocco appears under a totally different name and one which requires explanation. We all know that Gustavus Adolphus either originated or used largely in his army a staff with a long blade which could be ejected by a jerk forward. It is often found combined with the musket rest, thereby giving the musketeer an additional means of defence and one more ready than the sword. This invention, or commonly employed weapon, was known as the Swedish feather, a term often corrupted into Swine's feather. In its purer form the word appears as Feather staff, and as such is often met with in seventeenth century military works.

Sir John Smyth, in his *Instructions, Observations and Orders Militarie* 1595, speaking of a captain leading his band in his corslet complete, with his pique upon his shoulder and his page wearing his burgonet and his target, says, "but in case the captain be very olde . . . then he is to march before his band more lightly armed as he thinketh most convenient with his sword and dagger and his *leading staffe* in his hand."

Francis Markham in his *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (published at London, 1622), says :

The weapon with which the Captaine shall serve in his owne person is very much disputable in these daies amongst the best Souldiers, some for bravery wil carry nothing but a rich Feather-staffe all wrought guilt and curiously tasselled, but this everyone knowes is not for to fight withal, for neither is it of abilitie to wound deepe nor of length or substance to encounter either with Pike, Partizan, Halbert, nor with a good Sword and Target. Others will serve with a Pike, but that is found much too unimble and troublesome for his place, for having once brought his men up to the push, he can have no more use for that weapon, their pressing upon him taking from him all meanes above once to charge it. And some will serve with a sword and gilt Target, but that is found as much too short, and ere he can get within the enemies Pike his life will be in great hazard; so that in conclusion (according to the opinions of the best Souldiers) the only weapons for a Captain, are a Faire Feather-staffe in the time of Peace or for glory in a garrison but in the time of Service and in the face of the enemy, then in a faire guilt Partizan richly trim'd, being not above twelve inches of blade, sharpe and well steeled, for it is able to encounter against any manner of weapon.

Of the Colonel of Foot, Markham says he

is to be armed at all points like the Captaine, onely his Leading weapon, and Feather-staffe is of much lesse proportion.

(G)ervais (M)arkham in the *Souldiers Accidence* London, 1643, says,

The Captaines shall be armed as the Lieutenants, onely as much richer as they please, and their weapons to lead with, shall be Feather-staves; but their weapons to serve or encounter the enemy with, shall be faire Partizans of strong and short blades, well guilt and adorned, according to their owne pleasures.

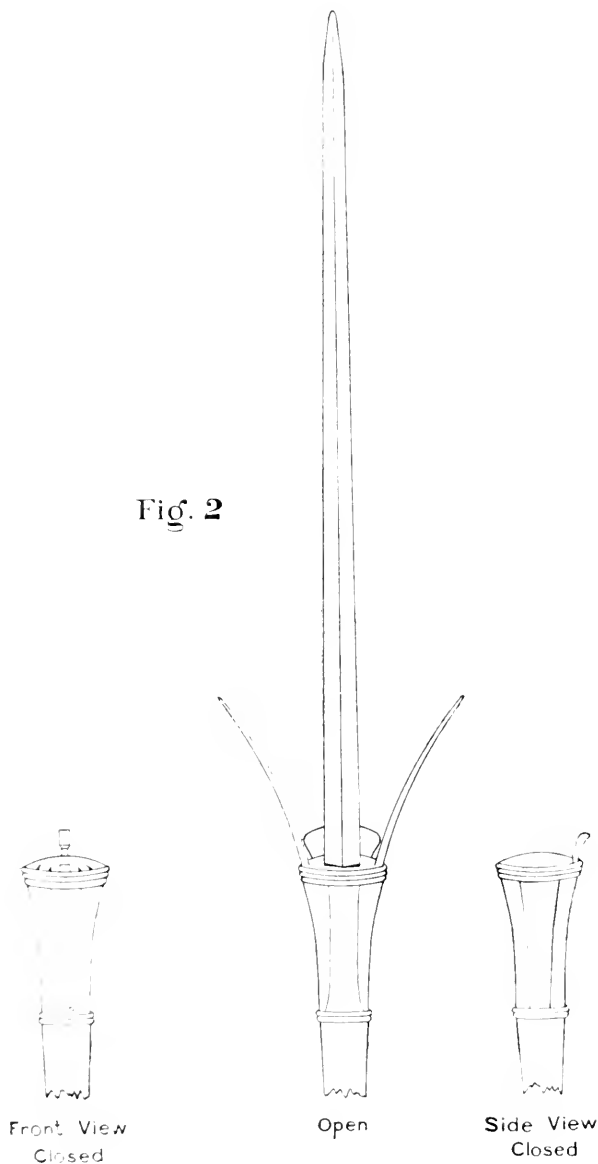
Captain Henry Hexham in his *Principles of the Art Military*, Delft, 1642, does not describe the arming of captains: nor does the Earl of Orrery in his *Treatise of the Art of War*, London, 1687.

Captain Ralph Standish in his will (Lancashire and Cheshire wills 1637) bequeaths "a targett and a leading staffe."

Robert Ward in his *Animadversions of Warre*, London, 1639, says: "The Captaine is to have his Armour of prooffe and a faire Pike for his defensive and offensive Armes."

The two examples of the Feather Staff in the Tower of London are Nos. $\frac{18}{14}$ and $\frac{19}{14}$. No. $\frac{18}{14}$ has an iron sheath covered with black leather and surmounted by a steel top with a hinged cover which conceals the spears and is oval in section (Fig. 2). The length of the sheath is $42\frac{1}{2}$ inches. When held by the lower and tapered end, a jerk will cause the cover to open and three blades to start forth. The centre one with diamond section is $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the side blades are 7 inches long, about $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch broad, flattish and without any inscription. The points of the two side blades diverge to about 9 inches apart. No. $\frac{19}{14}$ is similar to the above but has no cover. At the lower end of the 38-inch sheath is a 1-inch spike. The centre blade is $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the side blades $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches and their points are $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart. On one face of each side blade is the name BATOLAME. On the other faces is BIELLA. According to the late Angelo Angelucci this weapon first appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and he quotes the cost in 1633 as 7 scudi or crowns apiece. He mentions three in the

Fig. 2



FEATHER STAFF IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Royal Armoury of Turin, the largest of which has a central blade of 33 inches and side blades of 8 inches.

Meyrick calls his weapon a concealed *ranseur* from Genoa. It has the cap like one of the Tower examples. The total length when extended is 8 feet 4 inches, closed 5 feet 8 inches; the centre blade 31 inches, the side blades $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The lower 30 inches of the staff is studded with nails. Skelton, XCII.

Gay says that about 1690 the word Brandestoc appears to have been applied to a different weapon, for in 1691, Franqueville in his *Miroir de l'art* says: "le reste des armes sont le pique . . . l'esponton brandestoc Latin coestus Allemand Faustling." Faustling is certainly used by Flugel in reference to a pocket pistol or a cudgel.

Gay figures a feather staff in the Riggs collection like that in the Tower, but with AL SEGNO DEL GAT on the side blade. This looks like an imitation of the Musée d'Artillerie example.

A FRENCH PURCHASE OF ENGLISH ALABASTER IN 1414.

In his *Notes sur les Architectes de Rouen*,¹ M. Charles de Beaurepaire, the learned *Archiviste* of the Department of Seine-Inférieure, has published the text of two documents which possess a special interest for English archaeologists, and he has very kindly consented to their being reprinted in this *Journal*. They relate to a voyage to England undertaken by Alexandre de Berneval, mason, in 1414, for the purpose of purchasing alabaster. This Alexandre was one of the most prominent architect-masons of Rouen in the first half of the fifteenth century, and it may be interesting to add here a few notes on his career, summarised from M. de Beaurepaire's account of him.

The earliest mention of Alexandre de Berneval dates from 1409, when a certain Colin Anquetil, of Rouen, was apprenticed to "Sandrin de Berneval, machon," for five years to learn the "mestier de machonnerie." Besides his employment by the abbot and convent of Fécamp described in the documents printed below, he agreed, in 1420, to make for them a stone tabernacle for the keeping and exposition of a venerated relic known as the *Pas-du-Pèlerin* or *Pas-de-l'Ange*; the contract describes him as "Maistre Alexandre de Berneval, demurant à présent à Rouen." In 1419 he was employed by Guillaume d'Estouteville, lord of Blainville and Torey, a relation of the abbot of Fécamp. In February, 1419, he was appointed to the office of "maître des œuvres de maçonnerie au bailliage de Rouen," which he held up to his death, and he was associated with Salvart in the works of the palace built at Rouen by Henry V.² He is best known, however, in connection with his work on the abbey-church of Saint-Ouen, where he was master-mason from 1422 at latest. He died at the beginning of

¹ *Bulletin des Amis des monuments rouennais* for the year 1902, pages 85-87.

² Afterwards known as the *Vieux-Palais*, demolished in 1793.

1441, and was buried in the church of Saint-Ouen, where his grave-cover is still preserved in one of the chapels of the choir. On this stone are engraved two life-size figures, with an architectural canopy over each. The dexter figure represents Alexandre de Berneval, with a pair of compasses in his right hand, and a drawing of a quarter of a rose-window in his left. The sinister figure represents a younger man, with a pair of compasses in his right hand, and a drawing of the plan of a building in his left.¹ At the angles of the border are the symbols of the four Evangelists, but the inscription has never been cut in the border around the sinister figure. The inscription on the border below and at the side of the dexter figure reads thus :

Cy gist maistre Alixandre de Berneval, maistre des œuvres de machonnerie du Roy nre sire du baillage de Rouen et de ceste eglise, qui trespassa l'an de grace mil cccc. XL., le v jour de janvier. Pries Dieu pour l'ame de luy.

Alexandre de Berneval has been the victim of a legend, related by Dom Pommeraye, to the effect that he murdered his apprentice because the latter had designed a rose-window in the north transept which surpassed that of his master in the south transept. The legend, which doubtless owed its origin to the two figures represented on the grave-cover, was exploded as a fable by Quicherat,² who showed that the sinister figure represented Colin de Berneval, who succeeded his father as master-mason of Saint-Ouen, and that the reason why the second inscription was never cut was that Colin was buried elsewhere. It seems to be certain that Alexandre executed some considerable part of the south transept, and Quicherat attributes the rose of the north transept and the high vaults of both transepts to his son Colin.

The two documents brought to light by M. de Beaurepaire, and printed below,³ show that in 1414 Alexandre de Berneval was employed by Estoud

¹ An excellent illustration of the grave-cover accompanies M. de Beaurepaire's paper (*op. cit.*, opposite p. 93).

² *Documents inédits sur la construction de Saint-Ouen de Rouen*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 3rd Series, iii (1852), 464-476. Jules Quicherat,

Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, 2nd part, ed. by R. de Lasteyrie (1886), 215-227.

³ These documents are among the archives of the abbey of Fécamp, which are preserved with the archives of the department of Seine-Inférieure.

d'Estouteville, abbot of Fécamp (from 1391 to 1422), and his monks to execute for their church some work in alabaster, of which unfortunately nothing is known. Alexandre was commissioned to go to England to purchase the necessary alabaster. The first of the two documents is a charter-party, by which the abbot and convent chartered a ship called *Vendredi*, whose master "after God" was Walter Nyessem (? Neasham) of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The ship-master engaged to sail "at the first reasonable good weather that God shall send him," with Alexandre and his three companions, from the port of Harfleur to the port of Hull, and to bring them back safely with the alabaster or such other cargo as his ship should be able to carry. The abbot and convent advanced him two hundred golden crowns to be expended in such merchandise as Alexandre and his companions should buy, and he was to be paid for the freight at an agreed rate. The charter-party is dated July 9th, 1414.

The second document is Alexandre de Berneval's account of his journey. He and his three companions, Martin Lause, Raoul Le Pape, and Jehan de Paris, sailed from Harfleur in the *Vendredi* on Friday, July 13th, 1414. They reached Newcastle¹ on the following Wednesday (July 18th), and there they stayed eight days "at the expense of the said Englishman" (the ship-master). They left Newcastle on St. Christopher's Day (July 25th), and arrived the fourth day after at Nottingham. "And thence the said Englishman took them to a village called Chellaston, where the alabaster was, and found there the merchant who sold it, called master Thomas Prentis, with whom the said Englishman made a bargain to deliver to him certain pieces of alabaster at a certain price, by an agreement between them two in the presence of the aforesaid persons, by which the said Prentis should receive immediately forty golden crowns, undertaking to deliver the said stone at the port of Hull in England. And the terms were made in the town of Nottingham in England between these

¹ Not Hull, as seems to have been intended by the charter-party, though Hull would appear to have been the more convenient port.

English merchants. And afterwards, forthwith and immediately, the said English merchant took the said master Alexandre and those in his company to the port of the Vicenerey¹ in England, and caused them to cross over thence to Dieppe. And everything was done at the cost and expense of the said Walter, the Englishman, from the time that they left Harfleur to their return to Dieppe, together with four horses bought by the said Englishman. And they were absent on the said journey by the space of five or six weeks, at the cost of the said merchant as above said, with the money for their said horses, etc.”

The merchant from whom Alexandre de Berneval bought the alabaster was evidently the same Thomas Prentis who with Robert Sutton of Chellaston, “kervers,” contracted in 1419 to make the alabaster tomb of Ralph Green, which still exists in Lowick church, Northamptonshire.²

These documents prove that the reputation of the Chellaston alabaster had extended far in the early part of the fifteenth century, and they tend also to confirm the idea that alabaster was sent in block from the Trent valley to be worked in other places.³ They do not, of course, throw any light on the export of sculptured panels for retables, of which a very large number are still preserved in the churches and museums of France, to say nothing of other countries. It may be hoped, however, that evidence on this point also may be forthcoming from the archives of France.

JOHN BILSON.

Eu nom de Dieu soit. *Amen.* Sachent tous qui ceste karte d'affretement, partie par A. B. C., verront ou orront, que damp Nicolle Dueroq, religieux en l'abbeye et couvent de Fescamp a afreté, pour et en nom de révérend père en Dieu Mons^r l'abbé et couvent de Fescamp, la nef nommée Vendredi, dont est maistre, après Dieu,

¹ Is this Winchelsea?

² Contract printed by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, quoted in Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's paper *On the early working of alabaster in England*, in the *Archæological Journal*, lxi, 230.

³ For the towns where alabaster is known to have been worked, see Mr. Hope's paper, pp. 239-240, where the whole question is admirably discussed.

Gautier Nyessem, demourant en Angleterre en la ville du Neufchastel sur Tine et à lui appartenant, pour partir et singler du port de Harefleu, du premier bon temps resonnable que Dieu lui enverra, tout debout, à droicte charge, ou dit pais d'Angleterre, au port du Houll ; et sera tenu ledit maistre de mener et ramener en sa compaignie seurement et sauvement quatre personnes, serviteurs dudit Mons^r l'abbé, c'est assavoir Sandrin de Berneval, Martin Lausse, Raoul Le Pappe et Jehan Deparis, aux despens dudit Mons^r l'abbé, c'est assavoir que ledit maistre doit chargier ou faire chargier en sa dicte nef la pierre d'alebastre ou autre marchandise, de toute et telle charge comme la dicte nef pourra porter, où par les diz serviteurs ou l'un d'eulx voudront faire charger en icelle nef après ce que tout sera livré audit mestre au bort de sa dicte nef par iceulx serviteurs et à leurs despens ; et après ce que la dicte nef sera chargie ainsi que dessus est dit, elle doit singler et venir tout debout au port de Fescamp, de Harefleu ou es mettes d'environ, et le dit maistre livrer la dicte marchandise audit Mons^r l'abbé et convent ou à son commandement, hors les grosses aventures ; et se doit tout chargier et deschargier tout au plus tost que fere se pourra ; et congint et confessa ledit maistre avoir eu et receu la somme de deux cens escuz d'or dudit abbé, par la main dudit damp Nicolle Dueroq, pour emploier en marchandise au prouffit du dit abbé et par lesdiz serviteurs ; et où cas que les diz serviteurs ne voudroient aucune chose acheter et qu'ilz ne veissent en ce le prouffit dudit Mons^r l'abbé, ledit maistre ne les pourroit contraindre de rien acheter, mès seroit tenu à lez amener par deça et estre païé de son fret ainsi qu'il appartendroit ; et en icellui cas, ledit maistre seroit tenu de rendre et restituer ladicte somme de 11^e escuz, sauf à rabatre son dit fret et salere ; et pour acomplir et fere le dit voyage ledit maistre doit avoir pour chacun tonnel pesant la somme de cinq à six escuz d'or en l'ordonnance de damp Richart de Beaune, religieux audit lieu de Fescamp. Et se le dit maistre paie aucun argent pour le dit abbé à la requeste des dits serviteurs d'icellui abbé, le dit abbé le sera tenu rendre et restituer audit maistre ; et après la dicte marchandise deschargie et livrée, se marchandise y a, icellui maistre doit estre païé de tout son fret et de ce qu'il ara païé pour et en nom dudit abbé bien et deuement sans contredit. Et se aucun empeschement les diz serviteurs avoient par delà, Jaquelin Le Bouchier, bourgeois de Harefleu, se submist à lez désempeschier et pourachier à ses propres coix et despens ; et premièrement, et avant tout, aux despens dudit maistre, touages et lamanages, petis et grans, sont sur ledit abbé, aux us et coustumes de la mer et de la rivière de Seine ; et pour toutes lesquelles choses dessus dictes et chaques d'icelles tenir, acomplir et de point en point entérigner en la manière que dit est, ledit maistre en obliga son corps, sa dicte nef, apparaux et agrées d'icelle et tous ses biens meubles et héritages, présens et avenir, et ledit damp Nicolle Du Croq, pour et en nom que dessus, toute la dicte marchandise et les biens dudit abbé et convent, où qu'ils soient, présens et à venir ; et ledit damp Nicolle Dueroq, pour et en nom que dessus toute ladite marchandise et les biens dudit abbé et convent où qu'ilz soient présens et à venir ; et de ce fu aplegié ledit damp Nicolle Du Croq par Guillaume Dubois et ledit Jaquelin Le Bouchier, bourgeois de Harefleu. Ce fu fait et passé en la ville de Harefleu, de l'accort et consentement des dictes parties, l'an mil

quatre cens et quatorze, le ix^e jour de juillet, en la présence de Guillaume Dugardin et moy Jehan Descamps, clere commis par Olivier Gabart, clere tabellion juré pour le roy notre sire en siège de Harefleu, qui ay cy mis mon signe manuel, en tesmoin de vérité.

Signé : O. GABART. J. DESCAMPS.

Memore de Papointement et marchié pour le frait d'une nef, pour aller, en Engleterre, en la ville de Noeuf Chastel sur Tine etc., comme il appert par une carte partie. Et est assavoir que l'an mil III^e et XIII, le XIII^e jour de juillet, parti maistre Alixandre de Berneval, machon, Martin Lause, Raoul Le Pape et Jehan de Paris en sa compaignie, pour aler en Engleterre par le commandement et ordenance de révérend père en Dieu Mons^r de Fescamp, qui pour lors estoit ; et partirent audit jour, en la compaignie de Gaultier Nyessem, engloiz, meneur des dessusdiz en dit pays d'Engleterre, en sa nef nommée Vendredi, et partirent de Harefleu ; et les mena jusques au port du dit lieu de Noeuf Castel, et arrivèrent le mercredi ensuivant, et là séjournèrent les dessus dits l'espace de VIII jours aux despens dudit engloiz ; et de là partirent le jour Saint Xritoffle et arivèrent le III^e jour après en Notyngant ; et d'ilec les mena le dit engloiz à ung village nommé Chaleston où erait l'alebastre ; et là trouva le marchand qui le vent, nommé maistre Thomas Prentis, auquel le dit engloiz marchanda de lui livrer chertainnes pièches d'alebastre par certain pris, d'acort ensemble à eulx deulx, en la présence des dessus diz, par ainsi que ledit Prentis recheut présentement avant les mains quarante escuz d'or, promettant rendre la dite pierre au port de Houl en Engleterre ; et fut fait l'apointement en la ville de Notyngant en Engleterre entre yceulx marchans engloiz ; et depuis cen, tantost et incontinent, le dit engloiz marchand amena ledit maistre Alixandre et ceulx de sa compaignie jusquez au port des Vicenerey en Engleterre, et les fit passer par deça à Dieppe ; et tout fait aux coustz et despens dudit Gaultier, engloiz, depuis le temps qu'ilz partirent de Harefleu jusquez à leur retour par deça à Dieppe, avec III chevaux achetez par ledit engloiz, et vaquèrent en temps dessus dit en dit viage par l'espace de cinq à six semaines, aux despens du dit marchand, comme dessus, avec l'argent des diz chevaulx etc.

Et est ce memore fait et escript par le dit et relaxion du dit maistre Alixandre, lequel affermoit en avoir bonne et fresche memore etc.

EXCAVATIONS AT CORBRIDGE-ON-TYNE.

By C. L. WOOLLEY, B.A.

In the course of last summer the Northumberland History Committee undertook an excavation upon a small scale on the Roman site of Corstopitum, near Corbridge, a few miles from Hexham. The town lay upon the high north bank of the River Tyne, at the head of the bridge over which the military road from York ran up to join the Wall; how far it was a military station and how far a place of civil residence was one of the points upon which the History Committee were anxious to throw light. Not enough has yet been done to answer this question with certainty, but the actual results were of sufficient interest to warrant the excavation of the whole site by a wider body more directly interested in such a work. Accordingly, with the ready co-operation of the landowner, Captain Cuthbert, a Corbridge Excavation Committee has been formed, under the presidency of the Duke of Northumberland, and the work is to be carried on regularly in future. A detailed preliminary report¹ of this year's work is to be published, but the main points of it may be given here.

Operations were confined to the south-east corner of the site, and were of a somewhat scattered nature, it not being known at the time that this was the preliminary to a systematic excavation. The ditch was cut in several places, and with rather curious results. Towards the east the ditch lay well above the brow of the hill that here slopes down to the river, and was accordingly cut in the gravel soil with a sharply defined section, 8 feet deep by 14 feet across. Running westwards, the ditch descended the face of the hill, and in proportion as it drew nearer to the level ground at the foot its depth

¹ Published in the forthcoming number of *Archæologia Aeliana*. [This report will be sent to all subscribers of two guineas or over to the Excavation Fund

by the Hon. Secretary, W. H. Knowles, Esq., F.S.A., Gosforth, Northumberland.]



ROMANO-BRITISH VASE FOUND AT CORSTOPITUM,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.



diminished, and its southern or outward side tended to disappear, until at last it gave place to a steep bank of gravel between which and the river (then much closer to the hill than it is to-day) lay a stretch of marshy ground wherein an artificial cutting would have been both difficult and useless. Nothing in the nature of a rampart-wall was found; if such ever existed it has been, at this point, completely dismantled by those who for fifteen hundred years have used the site as a quarry for building-stones; possibly the military defences of the place were confined to a certain area, and the surrounding civil buildings here were content with the somewhat inadequate protection of the ditch and swamp; but no theories are needed on a subject which future digging will undoubtedly make clear.

Work was begun upon two building sites, though unfortunately the time at the disposal of the excavators did not allow of a complete plan being obtained in either case. One site must, if symmetrical, have been of very considerable dimensions, not less than 200 feet from north to south, and shewed a number of rather poorly built structures, mostly long and narrow with cross-divisions but no passages, surrounded by a fine plinthed wall five feet in thickness. The narrow ends of these buildings faced upon a cobbled way or court running east by west, whose north side formed practically the boundary of the area excavated; the eastern limit also of this building was not reached.

The other site, apparently of a residential nature, produced excellent floors of *opus signinum*, walls faced with coloured plaster, and, in one room, a system of heating-flues in which the whole wall is jacketted with box tiles secured by T clamps, a system found in a bath-house at Binchester Banks, Durham, etc., but of somewhat unusual occurrence. A building of this sort seems at once to distinguish Corstopitum from the military stations of the Wall, where work is of a far more simple and utilitarian kind, and to give to it an added importance as being the one real town-site of the North on which excavation can be freely carried on; for whereas Shields and Carlisle have been continuously inhabited throughout history, Corstopitum lies open and unencum-

bered by any buildings of later than Roman date. The most interesting point about this house, however, was that in its south wall were found embedded two moulded *roussoirs* of considerable size and good workmanship ; the arch from which they came had a span of 12 feet 6 inches, and was in measurement and in quality unequalled by any known Roman work in the north of England. As in their present position they supported the lowest of four distinct floor-levels, representing some considerable period, the structure of which they originally formed a part, and which, judging from its mass and importance, would have stood some time before being destroyed and thus re-utilized, must go back to a very early date in the history of the Roman occupation.

Amongst the minor finds, mostly of small consequence, one may well be signalised here. This is a vase (see Plate) 12 inches high by 9 in diameter ; it is of creamy-white clay, finely levigated, covered with a slip of reddish-brown colour, rather ill-fixed, having a very slight orange glaze, and decorated with creamy-white paint put on over the glaze. Round the neck is a row of white dots ; below this a line of flattened S-shaped curves, slightly overlapping each other ; on the upper part of the body a free scroll-work design based on a floral motive into which large and small dots and trefoil leaves are introduced, the large dots serving as flower-terminals, the smaller following the stalk-lines. Below this come three double rows of machine-turned hatched lines, the upper perpendicular, the two lower oblique. This vase, which was very fragmentary but could be safely restored, is of an interesting type, and its decoration shews a purely native and Keltic influence. It is very probably of Durobrivian fabric, of which a fair number of fragments of the more usual types were found in the course of the excavations, but is of an uncommonly large size and rather peculiar ornamentation. As a specimen of Romano-British ware, it certainly deserves attention.





PLATE I.—BAS-RELIEF FROM BREMENIUM.



PLATE II.—MOSAIC FROM TIMGAD, AFRICA.

A ROMAN BAS-RELIEF FROM BREMENIUM.

By Prof. RÉNÉ CAGNIAT, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur du Collège de France.

Some time ago a bas-relief of considerable interest was found in the ruins of the fort of *Bremenium*, now High Rochester, in Northumberland. It is figured in Bruce's *Roman Wall* (p. 318), and it is stated in the text of that work to have been found on the *via principalis* in front of the *praetorium* and on the right of the entrance, together with a Latin inscription. Both had been employed in some later construction, probably a basin. This bas-relief is now in the museum of Alnwick Castle. (Plate I.)

Bruce saw in this relief a representation of nymphs bathing. A more recent discovery enables us to hazard a better surmise as to the subject depicted. I refer to a mosaic (Plate II) found in a house at Thamugadi (now Timgad) in Africa. In a paper which I contributed to the Centenary volume [1904] of the Society of Antiquaries of France,¹ I have described it as follows:—"The central figure represents a nude goddess kneeling on her right knee beside a basin full of water, with her right leg bent at right angles. Her head is encircled by a nimbus. A nymph holding a vase stands up half draped upon a rock rising above the water, and from the vase a stream of water falls upon the outstretched right hand of the goddess, who with her left tries to conceal her nudity. Behind this nymph on the extreme left of the scene is the trunk of a tree of which the foliage has disappeared. On the right is a second equally undraped nymph standing between two trees. In her two hands she holds a large shell, into which water falls from a pipe fixed in the fissures of the rock, and from the shell the water rebounds into the basin. At the top of the mosaic and

¹ Rec. de memoires publié par la Soc. des Antiq. de France à l'occasion de son centenaire, p. 73 *et seq.*, cf.

notre Musée de Timgad, pl. xiv and p. 37.

behind the rocks appears the torso of a figure of which nothing remains but the neck, the left ear, a part of the hair and a flap of his *chlamys* floating in the breeze. In this young man it is easy to recognise Actaeon, and in the bathing goddess a representation of Diana.

This scene, which illustrates a well-known passage in Ovid,¹ occurs often and with variations. For instance, it is to be found on the wall-paintings of Pompeii² and also on sarcophagi, on one of which, preserved in the Louvre,³ instead of two nymphs we find two children pouring water upon the goddess. This peculiarity is also to be seen in a funeral bas-relief in the British Museum.⁴ In this latter example it will be noticed that the figure of Actaeon is absent, and this is so clear that authors who have reproduced it describe it as a representation of Venus at the Bath.⁵ I will return to this point later.

Bruce's reproduction of the Bremenium stone, though fairly accurate, is wanting in character, and Dr. Haverfield, with his usual courtesy, has obtained through Lord Eustace Percy a good photograph of it for me. It should be compared with other similar monuments, most especially with the Tingad mosaic, to which it bears a striking resemblance. On it are to be found practically all the details of the mosaic: the landscape with the rock behind the goddess are the same, so too the grotto in which she is bathing, represented by a jutting arch, the crown of which is broken; the stream which flows in front of her, and the cypress which recalls the neighbouring woods.

Vallis erat piceis et acuta densa cupressu,

sings Ovid. We also see on each side of Diana the two nymphs who accompany the goddess in the Tingad mosaic. One holds a vase, representing a spring, and corresponds to the nymph who leans on an urn in the mosaic. The other holds before her a large shell, like her African parallel. Needless to say, both are local nymphs, symbolical of the water springing from the rock

¹ Ovid, *metam.* iii, 140 *et seq.*

² Helbig, *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Nos. 249 to 252.

³ Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. cxiv, reproduced on p. 77 of my paper, fig. 3 (*vide supra*).

⁴ *Cat. of Sculpture*, iii, 2360. Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, iii, 1, p. 1.

⁵ W. Altmann, *Die Röm. Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 162. (This has long been recognized as the Venus lavans of the Bithynian sculptor Daïdalos.)

and from the grotto. Actaeon alone is missing, unless indeed his image has disappeared from the top of the grotto, together with the fragment of the stone which has been broken off; but it seems probable that he did not form part of the group, either here or on the funeral altar in the British Museum referred to above.

There is, however, another variation in the position of the goddess which is well worthy of notice. Instead of attempting to screen herself with her hand, the goddess here raises it to her head for the purpose of arranging her hair, a gesture which is characteristic of a whole category of statues of Venus.¹

One might therefore have pronounced the subject of the bas-relief of Bremenium to be the bath of Venus, were it not for the striking resemblance which it bears both in grouping and accessories to the Timgad mosaic. This resemblance once again shows us how great a liberty the Roman decorators took with the models they set themselves to reproduce.² In this case they have simply mixed the two types, with the result that they have confused the two goddesses. All they desired was the representation of a woman bathing, whether they substituted the one for the other was to them a matter of indifference. In the instance we have been considering, we need not perhaps be more precise than they, and we may as well leave the matter in uncertainty. In one respect the goddess bears a resemblance to Venus, with none of the attributes of Diana. On the other hand, the remaining figures and the details of the scene remind us of Diana surprised by Actaeon as represented on the mosaic of Timgad.³

A comparison of these two monuments gives rise to another curious observation, for the relative positions of the figures of the one, though grouped in much the same manner, are reversed relatively to the other. In the one the right leg of the goddess is bent at right angles

¹ Reinach, *Rep. de la Statuaire*, ii, p. 339 *et seq.*, and iii, p. 104 *et seq.*

² I may add an English parallel to this "contamination." A sculptured stone at Bath (*Victoria Hist. of Somerset*, i, 235) and a stone at Chester (Museum Catalogue 163) show what

seems to be the male bearded head of the female Gorgon. F. Haverfield.

³ Whatever answer may be given to this question, it is clear that the subject lends itself well to the adornment of a monumental fountain.

and the left knee rests on the ground, in the other the reverse obtains. Again, in the bas-relief of Bremenium the nymph with the shell is on the left of the spectator, and at Tingad she is on the right, and similarly the nymph with the vase changes places. It is clear that the cartoon used as model has been reversed by the artist in one of the two cases before us.

In execution the Tingad mosaic is below the level of mediocrity, and one must, without injustice, say the same of the Bremenium stone. But even the barbarity of their execution is interesting, since it shows us that in both north and south on the military frontiers of the Roman Empire local artisans were struggling to reproduce the same subjects after the current and traditional models, and that the only difference between them is to be found in the particular type of unskilfulness which distinguishes the one from the other.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES IN THE FORUM ROMANUM.

By DR. S. RUSSELL FORBES.

I. THE TRIBUNAL OF AURELIUS.

The Steps or Tribunal Aurelius were erected by the Consul C. Aurelius Cotta, 75 B.C., when Lucius Quintus was Tribune of the people. Cicero refers to it several times :

Those steps of Aurelius, which were new at that time, appeared as if they had been built on purpose for a theatre, for the display of that edifice. *Pro Cleuntio*, 34. Delivered in 66 B.C.

And this, forsooth, is the reason why this cause is pleaded at the Steps of Aurelius. *Pro Flacco*, 28. 58 B.C.

In the presence and sight of these same consuls (L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius, 57 B.C.) a levy of slaves was held before the Tribunal of Aurelius, under the pretence of filling up the Guilds. *Pro P. Sestio*, 15.

After I had seen men openly enrolled and registered in the Centuries at the Tribunal of Aurelius. (Second oration after his return, 5 Sept. 6/57 B.C.)

When in the Aurelian tribunal you (Clodius) were openly enrolling not only freemen but slaves also, got together out of all the streets of the city. *Pro Domo*, 21.

In front of the Tribunal of Aurelius . . . a levy of slaves was held. Arms were placed in the Temple of Castor by that robber (Clodius) while you (Piso) were looking on. *Contra L. Pisonem*, 5. Delivered 54 B.C.

When Cicero, writing to his brother (*Letters* 2, 3) says :

On the eleventh of February I made a speech in defence of Bestia, who was accused of corruption before Cnæus Domitius the prætor, in the middle of the Forum, in the presence of a vast crowd of people, he is not referring to the Tribunal of Aurelius, which was not existing in 100 B.C. when C. D. Calvinus was prætor, but to the Prætor's Tribunal at the west end of the Forum under the Temple of Saturn, where its eight supporting arches exist. Cicero's phrase, "in medio foro," which he often uses (*e.g.*, *Letters Ad Att.*, 4, 6, 8), must not be taken literally, it is a figure of speech. The Basilica

Aemilia was on the north side, and the Prætor's tribunal at the west end of the open space of the Forum; neither are "in foro medio," though both are so spoken of.

Close up to the east side of the second transverse underground corridor, at the rear of the third honorary base on the Sacra Via, counting from the Vicus Tuscus end, a large platform composed of concrete made with lava was discovered in November, 1905, see plan Fig. 1;

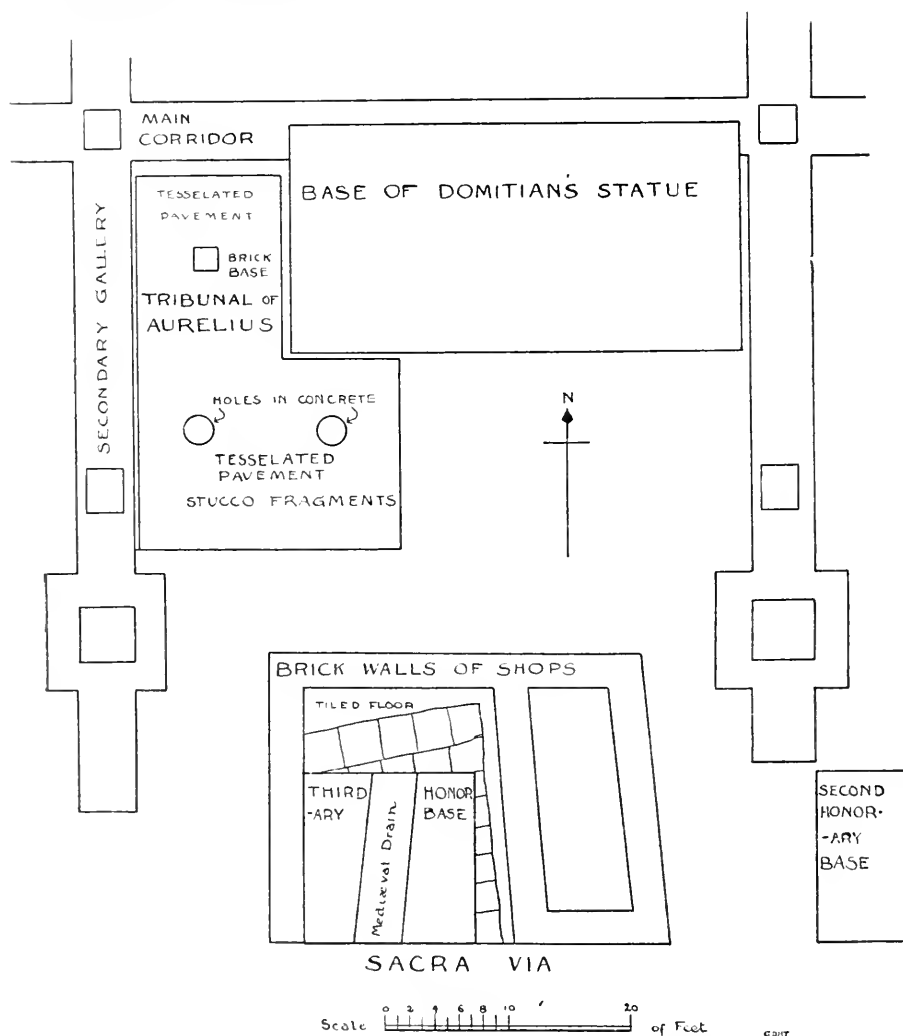


FIG. 1.—FORUM ROMANUM. PLAN OF THE TRIBUNAL OF AURELIUS AND THE OLD SHOPS.

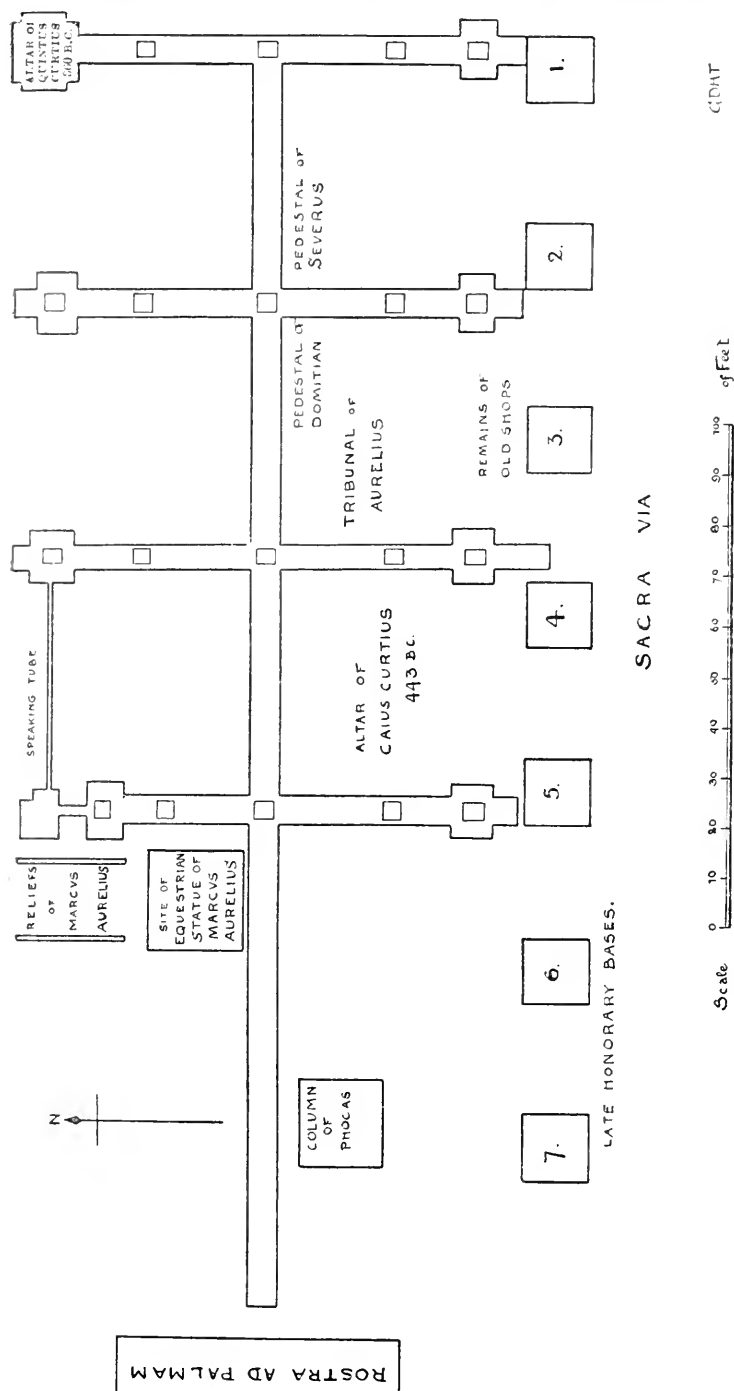


FIG. 2.—FORUM ROMANUM. PLAN OF SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDORS.

it is 31 feet long, north to south, by 21 feet wide. This I believe to be the remains of the Steps or Tribunal of Aurelius erected in 75 B.C. (*Cicero pro Cleuntio* 34). It was probably used as a grand stand for the officials when the games were exhibited in the Forum. It may fairly be described as "in medio foro," and it is in the best position for such a stand. A portion of the north and east sides, 10 feet by 15 feet, was cut away to make room for the base of Domitian's statue, which is one foot lower in level, so that it cannot be later than A.D. 84; and it is evident from Statius that the space to the west behind the statue was open as far back as the Temples of Concord and Vespasian.

Remains of stucco ornamentations, tessellated pavement and square brick tiles show early imperial work. It is only 14 inches above the level of Caesar's time. A small piece of a marble cornice of the third century was also found, but it apparently had nothing to do with the platform.

Under the third honorary base and between it and the second one some brick foundations have been uncovered and supposed to be the support of the steps leading on to the platform, but they are really remains of the row of seven shops (*tabernae veteres*) that once occupied the south side of the Forum. (*Livy*, 26, 27; 27, 11. *Cicero*, *Acad.* 4, 22.)

II. SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDORS.

Before the amphitheatres were built it was the custom to give shows and amusements in the open part of the Forum Romanum.

It is recorded that in this same year (B.C. 208) the Comitium was covered (with an awning) and the Roman games repeated once. *Livy*, 27, 36.

About B.C. 160 :

C. Tarentius Lucanus exhibited thirty pairs of gladiators in the Forum for three consecutive days. *Pliny*, 35, 33.

Vitruvius thus alludes to the preparations necessary :

Nor is this an evil (contractors' extras) which occurs in buildings alone, but also in shows of gladiators in the Forum, and in the scenes of plays exhibited by the magistrates, in which neither delay or

hindrance is admitted, since there is a necessity for their being completed by a certain time. Thus the seats for viewing the shows, the machinery for drawing the awning and the contrivances for shifting the scenes must all be prepared by a given day, that the people may not be disappointed. And in the preparation of all these much readiness and profound thought must be exercised, because they cannot be executed without machinery and the application of varied and extensive studies. (*Introduction to Book X.*)

In 122 B.C. :

There was a show of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the Forum, and most of the magistrates had caused seats to be erected round the Forum in order to let them out for hire. Caius Gracchus insisted that they should be taken down, that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of them regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen and demolished the seats. *Plutarch, C. Gracchus* 12.

Cicero refers to the games and to the balconies overlooking the Forum :

At the exhibition of the gladiatorial games, the gift of Scipio, worthy both of him and of Quintus Metellus in whose honour they were given. (25 B.C.) And they were a spectacle of that sort which is attended by immense numbers and by every class of men, and with which the multitude is delighted above all things. . . . So great is the vehement applause by all at the spectacle, all the way from the Capitol as much as at the lattices of the Forum. *Pro. P. Sestio*, 58.

Caesar, when Ædile exhibited 320 pairs of gladiators. *Plutarch*.

This was in 65 B.C. :

A fight of gladiators, but with fewer pairs of combatants than he had intended. *Suetonius, Caesar*, 10.

In 51 B.C. :

He promised the people a public entertainment of gladiators. *Suetonius, Caesar*, 26.

In July 46 :

Caesar, when dictator, covered with a linen awning the whole of the Roman Forum, as well as the Sacred Way, from his own house (which was on the Sacra Via) as far as the Clivus Capitolinus, a sight, it is said, more wonderful even than the show of gladiators which he then exhibited. *Pliny*, 19, 6.

Single men to single men, as was the custom of the Romans in the Forum. *Dion Cassius*, 43, 23.

In the conflict of gladiators presented in the Forum, Furius Septimius, a man of prætorian family, entered the lists as a combatant, as did also Quintus Calpurnius, formerly a senator, and a pleader of causes. *Suetonius, Caesar*, 39.

In 443 B.C. :

Caius Curtius the consul erected an altar in the open part of the Forum where a thunderbolt had fallen. *Tarro L.L.* v, 150.

Remains of this altar were discovered on April 15, 1904 :

The altar that once stood there (in the Curtian lake) was afterwards removed by order of the deified Julius Caesar, upon the occasion of the last spectacle of gladiatorial combats which he gave in the Forum. *Pliny*, 15, 20. This, however, may have reference to the altar erected to Marcus Quintus Curtius, 360 B.C.

The last of these spectacles given in the Forum in the time of Augustus is described by Strabo :

We saw Selurus, quite recently, during the time we were in Rome, torn to pieces by wild beasts in the Forum, after a contest of gladiators. He had been set upon an elevation made to represent Mount Ætna, which being suddenly unfastened and falling, he was precipitated amongst certain cages of wild beasts which had been slightly constructed under the platform for the occasion. *Strabo*, 6, 2, 6.

In 1902 a series of underground corridors (see plan, figs. 1 and 2, and Plates I and II) were discovered under the travertine pavement of the open area of the Forum Romanum which we may assume were for the gladiators and animals when games were exhibited in the Forum, most probably built by Julius Caesar in his Ædileship 65 B.C.; and that the twelve openings were for the *pegmata* or lifts for sending the men and beasts up on to the surface used as an arena. It seems strange that they are not mentioned by any of the classical authors. The main gallery begins some 26 feet west of the Column of Phocas, and runs down to the remains of the Court of the Tresviri Capitaes, the whole length of the open space 261 feet from west to east. The sides are built with concrete composed of small pieces of lava and travertine, and the vault is formed with small blocks of tufa, like our English bricks in shape ; it is 10 feet high and 5 feet wide. After a course of 94 feet it is crossed by another corridor running north to south, then by three others parallel, having an intervening space of 49 feet between them. At 1 foot 10 inches under the travertine pavement of Septimus Severus' level is the republican pavement with twelve manholes, 4 feet east to west, 3 feet 10 inches north to south, three in the vault of each transverse gallery, which opens into



UNDERGROUND CORRIDOR WITH CHAMBER FOR WINDLASS.





UNDERGROUND CORRIDOR WITH OPENING FOR LIFT.

chambers about 9 feet square. In the centre of the floors are blocks of travertine with holes in the middle, in which worked a windlass, similar to those at the Colosseum. In the north chamber of the first or west cross passage, which is exactly under the east side of reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, is a speaking tube communicating with the corresponding chamber in the next gallery to the east.

The main gallery, and the third cross one, with its central lift-hole, are blocked up with the concrete pedestal of Domitian's statue; thus these corridors must be older than A.D. 84.

III. A CAPSTAN OR WINDLASS.

On the north side of the fourth honorary base on the Sacra Via, 12 feet below the level, on the south side of the Curtian altar, the remains of a capstan or windlass was discovered on June 12, 1904.

A Capstan or windlass is a round kind of machine of stout and thick and also fruitful wood, like a sow surrounded by pigs, and so easily revolving draws the rope. The stars from which the rain falls (Hyades) are called by the same name, which otherwise are named Hydas by the Greeks; *váčas* in our opinion relates to pigs, in the Latin way of talking they will have said she pigs.

Thus Festus likens the windlass to a sow and the bars to her young to account for the Latin name. The Italian seems to confound the Hyades with the Haedi.

The capstan found consists of the cone with eight bars and the circular disk in which it revolved, composed of oak, elm and pine, all fruit-bearing trees, agreeing with Festus. Perhaps this was one of the machines used in the games of Caesar for the lifts below the area of the Forum.

The skeleton of a woman with a child in her arms was found close by the capstan, a victim probably either of the games, or of the fight over the Sabine women.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE RIOT AT THE GREAT GATE OF TRINITY COLLEGE, FEBRUARY, 1610-11. By J. W. CLARK, M.A., F.S.A. Published by the Cambridge University Press.

Mr. Clark, who as Registrar of Cambridge University has made much use in the past of the opportunities which he possesses as curator of manuscript sources of information concerning the history of the University, has in this brochure published for the first time an account of a riot between the members of the two colleges, the rivalry of which has always been a feature of Cambridge life.

James I., after being entertained in turn at Trinity and St. John's, is reputed to have remarked in reference to the single court of the former and the two courts of the latter, that there was no more difference between Trinity and St. John's than between a shilling and two sixpences. That their rivalry bred hostility is very obvious from this publication. The unpopularity in Trinity of two Johnnians was made a pretext for an attack on other members of their college on the occasion of a Christmas play in the Hall of Trinity. A general riot resulted from the over-bearing manners of the "stage keepers," who used the links they carried as weapons of offence. There is a picturesque touch of some swashbuckler of Trinity who advanced into the street holding his dagger by the point and defiantly shouting, "Where be these Johnnians? Is there none of the rogues will answer a man? Zounds! I will throw my dagger among them." His example was followed by others of the same College, who threw stones and swords from the top of the Great Gate on to the crowd below. In spite of the efforts of the Master of St. John's and of the Vice-Chancellor himself, this provocation was too much for the Johnnians, who stormed the wall, which stood where are now the Trinity railings running from the gateway to St. John's, and having thrown down the battlements, they used the materials as ammunition. Unfortunately, it would appear that the only evidence extant is that of the Johnnians and of certain townspeople, but the sentence of the Vice-Chancellor's Court is preserved, which condemns the delinquents, if graduates to be suspended from their degree, if undergraduates to be whipped.

THE OLD CORNISH DRAMA. By THURSTAN C. PETER. pp. 49, 6 plates. London: Elliot Stock, 1906.

Mr. Peter's lecture, converted into a small book and enriched by six illustrations, will provide an hour's instruction to anyone who cares to hear of the Cornish mystery or miracle plays. Unfortunately, only two of these plays now survive, namely, *Gereans an bys*, or *The Creation of the World*, founded on the *Origo Mundi*, and *Beunans Meriasek*, or *The Life of Meriasek*. The former was composed at the beginning of the

seventeenth century and the latter about a century earlier; but in each case it is fairly obvious that the actual composer must have drawn upon the older mystery plays of the Middle Ages. These Cornish plays seem to have differed in important particulars from their fellows, whether in England or abroad: in the first place, they were spoken, not sung; secondly, curiously enough, the players did not learn their parts but repeated them after a prompter, the reason being apparently that the same players continued their parts throughout the play, while in similar performances in other parts of England the play was divided into sections with a separate group of actors for each section; thirdly, the Cornish mysteries were free from the coarse ribaldry and profanity which generally degraded these semi-sacred performances, though it may well be that the very fact of their late date may account for this difference.

Mr. Peter describes the story of the two mysteries mentioned above and gives us many curious items of information as to the early theatre or *plan-en-quare* in which they were performed, and the curious scenery and costumes in vogue; and we notice that in Cornwall, as elsewhere, local colouring was introduced to bring home the subject matter of the play to the minds of the rustic audience, who detected no incongruity in David presenting a messenger with the estates of Carnsew and Trehemlys, or Herod swearing by Mahomet! The interest of the book lies in its attempt to deal in simple language with a by no means unimportant feature in the life of our ancestors, and we hope that the author will be able to continue his researches and bring to light more information on a little-known subject.

A TREATISE ON THE LAW CONCERNING NAMES AND CHANGES OF NAMES. By ARTHUR CHARLES FOX-DAVIES, Esq., and P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A. pp. 118. London: Elliot Stock.

A considerable portion of this little work is purely of legal interest, and is an excursion into a very obscure by-path of the law, and one that certainly seems to have required investigation.

The authors explain under what conditions it is possible for a man to change his surname. It is important that when made the change should be effectual. The methods that can be adopted are four, viz., by Royal Licence, Act of Parliament, Deed Poll, and advertisement in the Press. The procedure in all four cases is explained and elucidated by examples; the book ends with an interesting section on the names of bastards, in which the popular idea that a bastard has some right to its mother's surname is shown to be erroneous.

The archaeological interest of the book lies in its first two sections, dealing respectively with front or Christian names and Surnames. A Christian name once acquired authoritatively by baptism, or in the case of Jews by circumcision, cannot *legally* be changed; any attempt so to do merely results in an *alias*; we owe our front names to the formal adoption by the Canon Law of the practice of distinguishing individuals by different names, and the Common Law, which provides no method by which a man can acquire a front name, appears in this respect to have silently acquiesced and recognised the ecclesiastical rule. A front name is still a convenience only, and while a birth must

by statute be duly registered, no machinery exists to compel anyone to give the child a name. Surnames are of comparatively recent origin, and at first were strictly confined to persons of gentle birth, though the spread of population resulted in the necessity for still further distinguishing individual members of society. The section dealing with surnames will be found to contain a great deal of curious information relating to the different causes which have operated in the various parts of Great Britain and have resulted in every man obtaining a surname either by descent or repute, and the authors are to be congratulated on their effort to throw light on a subject which few have taken the trouble to investigate.

THE ELEMENTS OF GREEK WORSHIP. By S. C. KAINES SMITH, M.A.
Francis Griffiths. 1906. 2 6 net.

The writer of this book does not lay claim to much originality in the treatment of his subject, inasmuch as the audience to which he appeals is less scientific than popular, and his aim, therefore, "rather to stimulate . . . , to provide the uninitiated reader with a standpoint from which he may approach the deeper and more detailed study of a fascinating subject." And in this endeavour, modest perhaps but very useful, he seems to have succeeded admirably. His treatment is concise, summary, and clear; he advances from point to point with a transparent method, shews the manner in which modern scholarship has arrived at its conclusions on the nature of Greek religion, and states those conclusions in no vague or uncertain terms. The book, of course, suffers from the faults of its kind: it must needs give completed theories without detailing the arguments in support, much less those that may weaken them, and has therefore the tone of dogmatic assurance, which on points sometimes controversial is, taken by itself, perhaps misleading. Mr. Kaines Smith is a whole-hearted follower of Professor Ridgeway and Miss Harrison, and their views are possibly still too modern to stand well the ordeal of the epitome; the whole thing is a little too well rounded off, explains a little too elaborately every difficulty to be altogether convincing where the evidence is kept within so narrow limits. It is a pity, too, that brevity should demand the use of such phrases as "Greek" and "not Greek," "indigenous" and "extra-racial," "local" and "foreign" in sharp antithesis, and exclude all explanation of the complexity of the Greek race itself. Is even "Hyperborean Apollo" "not Greek" because he came from the North with those who formed so large an element in the Greek people of the fifth century? or are the real autochthones of the peninsula (whoever they were) to be called Greeks at all? It is quite possible that the theories themselves may need revision, but even if that were not the case, the definite use of such indefinite terms must do some violence to the theories. However, Mr. Kaines Smith's object is to stimulate, and that his book is eminently calculated to do, and it is perhaps ungracious to find overmuch fault with a book which is very readable and likely to open up a new path of thought and study to many who need such an introduction before they feel called upon to tackle the more laborious works of the specialist. If the publishers have any idea of following up this with other such handbooks, which without

claiming self-sufficiency really guide the outsider to fresh interest in scholarship, we may heartily welcome their intention.

The following archaeological publications have been received by the Institute :-

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1906.

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 1906.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1906.

Records of Bucks. Vol. IX. No. 3. 1906.

Archæologia Cambrensis, Vol. VIII. Part I. January, 1907.

Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Vol. XXIX. January, 1907. Containing a special off-print of a report on excavations, at Melandra Castle, Glossop, a small but important Roman Station, which have been undertaken by the Manchester and District branch of the Classical Association, in connection with the local Antiquarian Society.

Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Vol. LI. Part I. January, 1907.

Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Vol. XII. Proceedings for 1906. Contains interesting papers on Cleeve Abbey, and the Glastonbury Lake Village.

Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Proceedings for 1906. Contains a further paper on the church bells of Shropshire and interesting papers on the Herberts of Cherbury and the Augustinian Friars, Shrewsbury.

Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire. Proceedings for 1906.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Vol. XXXIV. 1906.

Abstracts from the Inquisitiones post-mortem relating to Wiltshire, Part V. December, 1906.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, December, 1906. Part 4. Vol. XXXVI. Among others contains a most interesting paper by Mr. W. J. Knowles, regarding his discovery of a late Neolithic implement factory, in a field near Cushendall, which had been brought into cultivation for the first time, where his spoils amounted to many cartloads of axes ground and unground, hammerstones, picks and so-called choppers and skimmers. A chance visit to Tievelulliagh, a peak in the same locality, led to the discovery of sites near the top from which the covering of peat had been removed by frost and rain, revealing the remains of a factory with thousands of flakes and other objects lying in the position where they had been dropped centuries ago.

Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, N.S. Vol. V. Part II. 1906. Contains a number of good examples of engraved Jacobite drinking glasses, and an interesting paper on the architecture of Iona.

Société Jersaise : Journal de Jean Chevalier.

The Antiquary. Elliot Stock. Current numbers.

The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist. Bemrose and Sons.
Current numbers.

Foreign Publications.

Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Paris, 1906.

Bulletin Trimestrielle de la Société de Borda. Dax (Landes). 1906.

Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles. 1906.

Der Rißgräber in Aschrahl. Von Karl F. Geldner. Erster Theil.

Glossar. Kohlhammer. Stuttgart. 1907. M. 8.

Actas del Museo Nacional de Mexico. Tomo III. Números 10,
11 y 12.

THE "OLD LANCASTER" EXHIBITION.

The Corporation of the Borough of Lancaster contemplate celebrating the opening of the extension to the Storey Institute in that borough by holding a historical and antiquarian exhibition of objects of interest connected with Lancaster.

The articles which it is desired to get together include paintings, engravings, photographs, autographs, deeds, charters, seals, tokens, medals, newspapers, books, broadsides, arms, armour, and pottery, old prints of Lancaster and district, paintings by Lancaster artists, portraits of old Members of Parliament, Mayors and prominent townsmen, portraits and memorials of the old Dukes of Lancaster and the Duchy of Lancaster, etc., etc. These would, as far as possible, be arranged in chronological order relating to the British, Roman, Saxon, Norman, Mediaeval, Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian periods.

It is thought that an exhibition on these lines would be of general interest and also of great educational value, and it is also considered that from the articles exhibited a nucleus might be formed for a local museum.

But before deciding to hold such an exhibition, preliminary enquiries are being made to see whether a sufficient number of objects of interest can be secured to form a successful and interesting exhibition.

The Town Clerk of the Borough of Lancaster would therefore be glad if any one having anything of the nature indicated above, would communicate with him as soon as possible.

Obituary.

THE LATE HENRY WILSON, M.A., F.S.A.

The Council of the Royal Archaeological Institute have received with very great regret, which they are sure will be shared by all the members, the information of the sudden death by accident of their esteemed colleague, Mr. Henry Wilson. He joined the Institute in 1893, was elected a member of the Council in 1898, and remained a member of that body until his death. For some time he undertook the duties of Honorary Editor of this *Journal*, and he accepted the arduous post of Secretary for the meeting at Tunbridge Wells in 1905. As he was then verging on his seventy-third year, those who know the labour and strain involved in the duties of that office will appreciate the mental and physical vigour displayed by him up to the last.

Returning from Catford by bicycle to his home at Farnborough in Kent at 11 o'clock on the night of the 8th January, 1907, he came upon some furniture vans at a part where the road was being repaired, and, in endeavouring to guide his bicycle along the narrow space allowed, was thrown under the wheels of a van and instantly killed.

Mr. Wilson was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1899, but it does not appear that he contributed either to the proceedings of that Society or to our *Journal* any formal communication of importance. At our meeting on 1st April, 1896, he exhibited a book of sketches of churches in Cheltenham and its neighbourhood and on 3rd March, 1897, a small Roman bronze figure found at Sidecup. His presence was always a welcome feature of our annual meetings; and in the social intercourse and informal discussions which are so pleasant an incident of those meetings, he was ever ready to give his fellow members the benefit of his great learning, his retentive memory, and his ready eloquence.

Mr. Wilson was born at Banks Hall, Barnsley, and educated at Catherine Hall (now St. Catherine's College), Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. After leaving Cambridge he followed the profession of a schoolmaster, and for some years had a private school at Malvern. He removed to Farnborough in 1891. He had become a member of the British Association in 1883. In social politics he was a strong individualist, and a frequent correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, and contributor to the *Liberty Review*. An article of his on the subject of the Carnegie millions appears in that Review for January, and may be referred to as an excellent example of his literary style. E. W. B.

THE LATE JOHN THOMAS MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

The Institute has suffered a serious loss by the death of Mr. John Thomas Micklethwaite, one of its Vice-Presidents and an active member for thirty-one years. Having written briefly, in *The Architectural Review*, what I had to say of him as an architect, as a fellow pupil in architecture, and a friend of forty years' standing, I hoped that someone more competent would have spoken of him as an archaeologist. It may be safely said that never did archaeology, or more strictly ecclesiology, enter so largely into the professional practice of an architect as in Micklethwaite's career. Instead of its being a recreation or a study to which only the hours snatched from business could be given, it was with him an essential part of the profession and business of his life; and sound and good as his architecture was, it is, I believe, rather as an ecclesiologist that he will be chiefly remembered.

While various works were being carried out in St. Albans Abbey Church in 1872, under the direction of Mr. George Gilbert Scott, Micklethwaite, who was then still engaged in his office, assisted in the work, and it was he who, when his attention was called by the clerk

of works, John Chapple, to numerous beautifully-wrought fragments in Purbeck marble that had been found, discerned that they could be none other than the *disjecta membra* of the Saint's Shrine, and took the greatest delight in piecing them together and re-erecting the shrine as it may now be seen. This find formed the subject, I believe, of Micklethwaite's first communication to this Society,¹ he being deputed by his chief, at short notice, to take his place at one of the monthly meetings. I have before me a letter from Mr. Albert Way, dated August 16th, 1872, returning "acknowledgements and thanks for the memoir on the Shrine." Micklethwaite was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries so long ago as February, 1870, shortly after reading a very complete paper on the little chapel of St. Erasmus in Westminster Abbey Church,² which had previously escaped notice or had been regarded as merely a vestibule to the larger chapel of St. John Baptist to which it has been made to open. The accompanying plan was reproduced from *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*.³ He was elected a member of the Institute in 1875, and his contributions to the *Journal* were afterwards as follow: Vol. xxxiii, "Notes on the Abbey Buildings at Westminster"; Vol. xxxv, "Well in Beverley Minster," and an important memoir on "Parish Churches in 1548"; Vol. xxxviii, "High Side Windows in Chancels"; Vol. xxxix, "Crypts at Hexham and Ripon"; Vol. xl contains his address on Architecture; xlv, "Ankerhold at Bengoe"; Vol. xlv, "Pigeon-houses in Churches." In Vol. xlix, he departed from his usual subjects and contributed a paper on "Indoor Games in

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, xxix, 201-211.

² Printed in *Archaeologia*, xlv, 93-99.

³ Micklethwaite was one of the founders in February, 1866, of the Spring Gardens Sketching Club, formed chiefly of pupils and others who were then or had been connected with Mr. Scott's office. Eight volumes imp. fol. of lithographs, chiefly scale drawings, were produced during the existence of the club, which continued until May, 1890. It was the first enterprise of the kind in England, and the *Architectural*

Association Sketch Book and others were started in imitation of it. The plates and accompanying notes were printed for members only, who never exceeded 72, so that the volumes have become scarce. Micklethwaite's contributions illustrated: Chasuble in possession of Rev. E. Moore; Netley Abbey, west front of Chapter House and part of Nave; Rochester Cathedral, Rood Screen, etc.; Pontefract, Rock Excavation; Wakefield, Screen in All Saints Church; Helpringham Church; Westminster, Ashburnham House; St. Albans Abbey, Choir.

the Middle Ages." In Vol. li came another important paper on "Westminster Abbey Buildings"; and in Vols. liii, lv, "Saxon Church-building," the subject to which he gave most of his leisure in his later years. Until the year of his death, I believe, he hardly ever missed the annual country meetings, and he frequently spoke on these occasions and described subjects visited, in addition to taking part in discussions at the monthly meetings. At the Tunbridge Wells meeting in 1905, he made some remarks on the churches of Etchingham, Penshurst and West Malling, of which last he had previously rebuilt the nave. He was a patriotic Yorkshireman and contributed papers to the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. No one knew more of the great Yorkshire Abbeys than he, and he was always willing to impart his knowledge. I was with him on one occasion in the eighties when he acted as guide in a visit paid to Rievaulx Abbey by the directors of the London and North-Western and North-Eastern Railways (who were, and perhaps are still, in the habit of spending a day together in the holiday season every year), and I remember Micklethwaite, in speaking of the Cistercian Order, comparing them for their simplicity and contempt for the vanities of the more ornate architecture with the Quakers, to the evident amusement of some of the North-Eastern directors, the board of that company including more than one member of the Society of Friends. He made a special study of the Carthusians and their buildings, and was so widely known as an authority on this Order in England that the Prior of a French community settled in Sussex applied to him for assistance in a history of his Order upon which he was engaged.

Micklethwaite was connected with the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, the Henry Bradshaw Society and the Alcuin Club. For the last he wrote "The Ornaments of the Rubric," which attracted much notice and has passed through three editions.

In 1874 he brought out his "Modern Parish Churches," which still continues to be the text-book for architects and church-fitters. He was a principal contributor during its short life to *The Sacristy*; he also wrote

occasionally and reviewed for *The Athenaeum*, *The Academy*, *The Church Times*, and other periodicals.

Many distinguished antiquaries, both at home and abroad, were among his correspondents, and much of his time was occupied ungrudgingly in replying at length to the numerous queries that were put to him. A North of England dignitary prefaced a letter propounding several questions thus: "As you are so learned that you know everything and so simple that you tell others what you know . . ." And this was not all of it flattery.

Although he never joined the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, he was as zealous as any member of that Society in the same cause and was frequently consulted by its committee and sometimes recommended as architect to those who applied to this Society for advice. The late William Morris, whom he knew well, wrote to him in December, 1881, asking him to join the S.P.A.B. and become a member of the committee, feeling sure "you would be hearty in the cause against the destroying Philistine." He was associated in 1896, both with the Society of Antiquaries and the S.P.A.B. in their protests against the proposed demolition and rebuilding of portions of the west front of Peterborough Cathedral, when after much correspondence both protests were over-ruled and the advice of Mr. Pearson and Sir A. Blomfield acted upon. He also joined in unavailing protests that were made to Lord Grimthorpe against the unfortunate "restorations" which that nobleman was allowed to carry out at St. Albans Abbey Church.

Born in May, 1843, John Thomas Micklethwaite was educated at private schools, and spent much of his childhood at Hopton Hall, in the West Riding, an old house with a moat where the Micklethwaites have succeeded each other for more than two hundred years.¹ He became a student at King's College, London, in the Engineering and Applied Sciences Department in 1860, and in 1901 the Council elected him Fellow of King's College as being a "former student who has become eminent in Public Life." Before he was articled to Mr. G. Gilbert Scott,

¹ I am indebted to Miss Ada Micklethwaite, his devoted sister and confidant,

for much of this information, and for the loan of letters, etc.

there was some anxiety as to his eyesight, and the taking of Holy Orders was considered as an alternative. To the end he remained a strong champion of the English Church. He did not marry. He was appointed surveyor of the Fabric at Westminster Abbey in February, 1898, and of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1900. Undoubtedly the Westminster appointment was the wisest choice that could have been made. What he proved to be there is best expressed in the Dean's words: "Yesterday (October 31, 1906) we laid in the cloisters an eager, reverent, skilful worker. . . . John Thomas Micklethwaite studied this Abbey during the main part of his life . . . he gave his whole heart to this place, and jealously guarded every fragment that could tell of its long history."

W. NIVEN, F.S.A



THE CHRONOLOGY OF HENRY II.'S CHARTERS.

By J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

That famous veteran scholar, M. Léopold Delisle, the late head of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of France, recently read before the "Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres" a very notable paper, entitled "*Mémoire sur la chronologie des chartes de Henri II., roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie.*"¹

The difficulty of dating the charters of Henry II. is one which has long been felt in practice by those who have had to deal with them. The skilled officers of our Public Record Office and of the MSS. Department in the British Museum are often called upon to assign a date to a charter of that long reign, which may belong to any one of a wide limit of years.² Individual scholars are confronted with the same difficulty; Mr. Eyton, indeed, rashly attempted, in his *Court and Itinerary of Henry II.*, to assign to each charter its probable date, a very dangerous and misleading practice. In my *Calendar of documents in France* (pp. xviii-xix), I expressly rejected this attempt, and did not venture to give more than the limit of dates, often a wide one, within which the charter must have been granted. That limit, of course, is determined (1) by the witnesses' names, (2) by the subject of the charter, (3) by the place at which it was granted. In very few cases is the actual place decisive, but the question whether it was in England or in Normandy frequently affects the date.

Such being the recognised method of assigning dates to these charters, a method which entails (or ought to entail) special research for each of them, M. Delisle has now come forward to supply us with a new and independent test, warranted to prove infallibly whether

¹ Published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, lxvii, 361-401.

² See, for instance, the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, now being published by

the Public Record Office, Vol. I, p. ix, and Vol. II, p. viii-ix. In several cases the entire length of the reign (1154-1189) is assigned as a date limit.

the document belongs to the first or the second half of Henry's reign.

For sixty years (a truly amazing period) we learn that he has been forming his collection of Henry II.'s charters, but although he already knew most of them even in 1852, he has only recently been led to make his discovery.¹ This discovery is based on the fact that the words *Dei gratia* are included in the King's style in some of the charters, but not in the rest. So far back as 1837 Sir Thomas Hardy, as he reminds us, had observed that the King, towards the end of his reign (*sur la fin de son règne*) added these words to his style, and Sir Harris Nicolas echoed the statement in his *Chronology of History* (1838). The words, indeed, have been generally recognised as pointing to a late period in the reign.² Nevertheless, the standard work of a French expert in "diplomatic," Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatique*, describes their occurrence as accidental,³ M. Delisle reminds us. Enjoying the unique advantage of possessing his great collection of the King's charters, with their texts *in extenso*, M. Delisle has arrived at a conclusion as novel as it is important, namely, that

- (1) The instruments of Henry II. which begin with the words *Henricus Rex Anglorum* belong to the first eighteen years of his reign (1155-1172).
- (2) The instruments of which the opening words are *Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum* were drawn up during the last seventeen years of the reign (1173-1189).
- (3) The change of style took place after the month of May, 1172, or (*ou*) at the beginning of the year 1173.⁴

Here we are somewhat puzzled by the disjunctive *ou*, for if a change took place "*au commencement de l'année 1173*," that date would be included in the previous "*après le mois de mai 1172*." Later on, however, we

¹ "C'est seulement dans ces derniers temps que j'ai été amené à rechercher la cause de cette singularité."

² For instance, Canon Prescott, in his *Register of Wetherhall Priory* (1897), observes: "This formula is generally a mark of the later charters of Henry II." (p. 20). And in my *Ancient Charters*

(Pipe Roll Soc., 1888), all the charters of Henry II. which have not the formula are dated by me before 1170.

³ "La formule *Dei gratia* se rencontre déjà, mais accidentellement, sous Henri II. et ses prédécesseurs."

⁴ I have translated these "propositions" as literally as possible.

discover that the change took place "between May 1172 and May 1173" (p. 382). This, it will be seen, scarcely justifies the rigid division alleged on p. 377—"1155-1172" and "1173-1189," which involves assigning the change definitely to the beginning of the year 1173.

The eventual date-limit is, we learn, determined by comparing two charters, of which one, which is still without the formula, cannot be earlier than May, 1172, while the other, in which *Dei gratia* already appears in the style, cannot be later than May, 1173 (pp. 382-388).

The former of these two charters is of special importance for the enquiry, because it is the only one known to M. Delisle, after the King's crossing to Normandy in May, 1172, which retains the earlier style (*i.e.*, without *Dei gratia*). It is a confirmation by Henry II., granted at Caen, of a charter of Richard, Bishop of Coutances, concerning the Priory of Bohun,¹ which is elaborately dated as of the 10th March previous. As M. Delisle attaches to the dates of this charter and of its confirmation the importance of which I have spoken,² it is strange that his treatment of them is somewhat inexact. Of the charter he says that it determines the respective rights as to the church of Camprond, of "Enguerrand de Camprond, Enjurer de la Chapelle (*sic*), et le prieur de Bohon." This obscures the interest of the transaction as a Bohun family affair, for Enjurer was not surnamed "de la Chapelle" but de Bohun. He so occurs in the charter and in the confirmation thereof, and he so made his return of Knights in the year to which this charter is assigned (1172). When it is remembered that the bishop who grants it was himself a Bohun, that the first witness to its confirmation was Jocelin (de Bohun), Bishop of Salisbury, and that the third was his son, Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury, it will be seen how important it is that Enjurer should have his right name. A somewhat similar slip occurs on p. 400, where M. Delisle speaks of Henri de Beaumont, Bishop of Bayeux, as

¹ Now Bohon.

² Of the first, "cette charte, qui tiendra désormais une place importante dans les études de diplomatique

anglo-normande" (p. 384). Of the second, "la pièce qui nous sert aujourd'hui à résoudre un intéressant problème de chronologie" (p. 385).

"Henri d'Harcourt,"¹ confusing his name, apparently, with that of his predecessor, Philippe d'Harcourt.

Again, on p. 386, when clinching his argument as to Henry's confirmation of Bishop Richard's charter in 1172, the writer observes :

Il est donc certain que la formule *Henricus rex Anglorum* était encore en usage à une date comprise entre le 10 mars (*sic*) 1172 et le mois de mai 1173.

Here he confuses the date of the charter with that of its subsequent confirmation, thus obscuring his own argument ; that argument is that the said formula was still in use, as late as *May* (1172), which is the earliest date at which the King could have been present at Caen, where he confirmed the charter. Instead, therefore, of "le 10 mars," he should have written "le commencement du mois de mai."

Again, a good deal turns on the dates at which the two well-known archdeacons, Geoffrey Ridel and Richard of Ilchester, were elected and consecrated bishops, respectively, of Ely and of Winchester. These dates are frequently used, as they are in this *mémoire*, for fixing dates of charters in which their names appear. Well, we read, accordingly, of a charter on p. 398 :

L'un des témoins de cette charte étant Richard, élu de Winchester, elle a été faite entre l'élection de ce prelat, 1^{er} mai 1173, et son sacre, le 6 octobre 1174. Voir plus haut, p. 387.

We refer to the page mentioned, but only to find that Richard was elected not on the 1st, but on the 17th of May ("sexto decimo kalendas Junii"), and was consecrated not on the 6th, but on the 13th of October ("13 Octobre").

If I have ventured to mention these singular slips, it is because they may be held to justify our approaching with a caution which, otherwise, might seem uncalled for and impertinent, the conclusions of so great a scholar in a field peculiarly his own. They entitle us, I think, to reserve judgment until the texts of all the King's charters contained in the writer's collection are before us. Should it be denied that they do so, it will hardly, at

¹ "Henri d'Harcourt, qui avait débuté de la cathédral de Salisbury, fut sacré dans la vie ecclésiastique comme doyen évêque de Bayeux en 1165."

least, be questioned that the far more startling error which I shall adduce below affords such justification.

Assuming, however, for argument's sake, that M. Delisle can prove his case, what historical importance and what practical value ought we to assign to his discovery? He claims that the change of style "*est à coup sûr un événement mémorable, et nous sommes en droit de nous étonner qu'aucun historien du temps, ni aucun historien moderne, n'ait cru devoir le signaler*" (p. 382). Why should it be matter for astonishment that no historian of the time felt called upon to mention the fact? For the writer himself hastens to add that the really astonishing thing is that the *Dei gratia* style should not have appeared from the first in the charters of Henry II., considering that it was engraved on all his great seals.¹ As the seal was of more authority than the parchment to which it was affixed, a change which brought the style on the latter into harmony with that on the former would not have been deemed of great, if of any, importance. It seems superfluous, therefore, to seek for some change in the King's position of which it was made the witness,² nor do I see why the change of chancellor should not have been responsible for this chancery alteration.³

But when we turn to the practical value of M. Delisle's discovery, scholars will gladly recognise that he does not in the least exaggerate the use of a new and infallible test that would enable us at once to assign a charter to "1155-1172" or "1173-1189." But, to be of practical use, the test must be infallible; and this, he emphatically asserts, it is.

Un résultat dont personne, je l'espère, ne pourra contester l'exactitude (p. 337).

Désormais, il suffira de jeter les yeux sur la première ligne d'une charte de ce roi pour reconnaître si elle est antérieure ou postérieure à l'année 1173 (p. 393).

Je ne saurais trop recommander l'application de la règle que j'ai cru pouvoir tirer de la différence des suscriptions. Elle épargnera de longs tâ-

¹ It had also, as M. Giry observes, been occasionally employed by his predecessors.

² See M. Delisle's suggestion on p. 393.

³ M. Delisle writes: "Je ne crois pas

qu'on puisse tirer un argument quelconque du fait qu'au moment même où le nouveau protocole fut adopté la direction de la chancellerie fut confiée à un nouveau titulaire" (p. 393).

tonnements, puis qu'elle permet de reconnaître au premier coup d'œil si la pièce qu'on étudie est antérieure ou postérieure à l'année 1173 (p. 397).

This last quotation is immediately followed by an illustration taken from the cartulary of Gloucester Abbey, as an example of the application of the new rule to cartularies.¹

This brings us face to face with the main question that we have to solve, the problem to which I desire more especially to address myself. Of the charters of Henry II. the great majority by far are known to us only through secondary sources—cartularies, charter rolls, patent rolls, *Cartæ Antiquæ* rolls, miscellaneous transcripts, and so forth. M. Delisle himself tells that, out of his collection of some 570 documents, relating to the French side of Henry's activities, there are not more than 130 originals, if so many. I should imagine the proportion of originals in the documents relating to this side of the Channel to be even smaller. Can we, then, inexorably apply the new rule of thumb no less confidently to secondary sources than to original documents? M. Delisle, we have seen above, tells us that we ought to do so, and we shall see below that he does so himself in practice.

Well, we will apply his test to what he terms his "first group," namely, "111 charters which belong incontestably to the first eight years of the reign" (p. 378). This group he has formed by noting those in which occur the names of one or more out of four (he writes "*trois*" in error) eminent persons about the court at that period, Archbishop Theobald, Becket the Chancellor, Robert of Neubourg, Seneschal of Normandy, and Philip (d'Harcourt), Bishop of Bayeux. To our amazement he has to admit that no fewer than 13 out of the 111 contain (even at this early period) the *Dei gratia* formula. In England, doubtless, we could find similar instances; for instance, Henry's writ in favour of the canons of Merton, which is known to us by *Cart. Antiq. EE.5.*, is witnessed by two of the above officials, the Chancellor and Robert of Neubourg, and yet contains the words

¹ "Cette règle sera surtout très utile pour la critique des actes dont le texte nous a été transmis par des cartulaires

où les copistes ont systématiquement supprimé les noms des témoins."

Dei gratia. Another secondary source of high official character and of early date is afforded by our charter rolls of the thirteenth century. These have lately been calendared by the Public Record Office, and what do we find in the published volumes? Out of the small number of charters belonging to M. Delisle's period, the first eight years of the reign, no fewer than seven belong to the group he has formed, and contain the formula *Dei gratia*! Becket the Chancellor is a witness to five out of the seven, and Archbishop Theobald to two.

What, then, is M. Delisle's explanation of these exceptions to what he asks us to accept as an absolute rule? Eight of his thirteen exceptions he dismisses as "more or less modern copies" by scribes who inserted the words *Dei gratia* from force of habit.¹ This explanation seems hardly applicable to our own charter rolls, which are not only transcripts of great antiquity, but were written by scribes who *omitted* the words in numerous transcripts of the charters of Henry I. and Henry II.

The other five exceptions he accepts as authentic, but rejects them as irregularly executed in the absence of the proper Chancery officials.² These exceptions, I gather, he will deal with separately, later; at present it is hardly clear to us what we are to deem exceptional circumstances. M. Delisle, however, contends that they do not affect his contention.³

That, however, is not the question which I am now considering. I desire to keep before my readers the point, namely, the practical application of M. Delisle's theory. He urges us, we have seen, to apply it to such secondary sources as cartularies, especially to those cartularies which, like that of St. Peter's, Gloucester, do not give the witnesses. But such a cartulary, we must remember, may contain both his classes of exceptions, (1) those due to copyists, (2) those due to original irregu-

¹ "Des copies plus ou moins modernes, dans lesquelles les mots *Dei gratia* ont bien pu s'intercaler indûment sous la plume de scribes entraînés par l'habitude de les faire toujours précéder le mot Rex" (p. 378).

² "Je n'en conteste pas ici l'authenticité, mais elles . . . ont été

redigées et expédiées exceptionnellement, en dehors des bureaux de la chancellerie," etc., etc. (p. 379).

³ "Elles ne m'empêcheront pas d'avancer que l'unanimité (*sic*) des chartes de mon recueil suffit pour prouver," etc., etc.

larity in the absence of Chancery officials (for, as the witnesses are not named, we cannot tell if any were among them). It follows, therefore, that in such a cartulary twelve per cent. of the charters, even on his own showing, may be exceptions to his rule. If so, what is the use of the rule? For we cannot tell, when dealing with any one of the charters, whether it is among the exceptions or not.

Hitherto I have dealt with the question generally: I now come to grips. A single example, says M. Delisle, will suffice to show the value of his rule;¹ it is that of my own *Calendar of documents preserved in France*. Out of some 140 charters of Henry II. which, he reckons (p. 370), it contains, he claims to have corrected the date of nine and narrowed the date of thirty-four. And this he claims to have done by *merely* looking at the King's style.²

Lest it should be thought that I am moved by any personal feeling, I hasten to substitute for my own *Calendar* the Public Record Office *Calendar of Charter Rolls* now in course of publication. And I will apply to the work of its editors precisely the same simple test as M. Delisle applies to my own, the presence or absence of the words *Dei gratia* in the style. They have had to deal, in the two volumes, with 102 charters of Henry II.³ The new rule, leaving aside mere narrowing of the date limit, convicts them of actually wrong dates to no fewer than fifteen.⁴ Well, as I am unconnected with the work, I can examine the dates from an impersonal standpoint. Of the charters which M. Delisle's test classes at once as "Post. à 1173," three were granted at Pembroke and are, therefore, dated by the editors 1171; one at Dublin, and is therefore dated 1171-2; seven, we have

¹ "Un seul exemple suffira pour montrer combien de services peut rendre l'application de la règle qui vient d'être proposée" (394).

² "Dans le tableau . . . on trouvera la date telle qu'on la peut déduire *uniquement* de la suscription, même sans tenir compte des particularités qui permettent d'arriver à une plus grande précision" (*Id.*). The italics are mine.

³ Vol. I, p. ix; Vol. II, pp. viii-ix.

⁴ Vol. I, pp. 25, 65, 109, 207, 258 (2), 351, 417; Vol. II, pp. 66, 305, 320, 342 (?), 351 (all containing "*Dei gratia*," and, therefore, "postérieur à 1173"). Vol. I, p. 100; Vol. II, p. 143 (both without that formula, and, therefore, "antérieur à 1173"). I have only queried one of these charters on account of possible questions as to its genuineness in its present form. These, however, would not affect the present issue.

seen, are witnessed by Becket as Chancellor or by Archbishop Theobald, so that, even by M. Delisle's own admission, their date is 1155–1164. Of the other two the witnesses show that one cannot be later than 1158, or the other than 1166. Turning to the two which the new test would class at once as “Ant. à 1173,” one of them is witnessed by Geoffrey Bishop of Ely, and is, therefore, on M. Delisle's showing, not earlier than 1174, while the presence also, as a witness, of Bishop William of Hereford, proves that it is not earlier than 1186! The other is dated 1173–1175,¹ but should really have been dated in the summer of 1175, which removes it even further from the date the test would give us.

Thus in every one of the fifteen cases the editorial dating turns out to be right, and the test which M. Delisle so confidently applies would, instead of correcting it, have given us a wrong date in every single instance. The fact is that, in his eagerness to claim infallibility for his test, he appears to have forgotten that he himself had been obliged to admit two classes of exceptions, one consisting of original documents, and the other of copies.²

In dealing with the Charter Rolls Calendar I confine myself expressly to actual corrections of the dates, leaving aside those cases in which the test would narrow down the limit of date assigned. But to this latter operation of his test great importance also is attached by M. Delisle.³

Let us, then, take as an example a charter of cardinal importance, one of the two “legs,” in fact, on which the whole proposition of M. Delisle rests. The earliest charter known to him in which *Dei gratia* appears is that which he prints and discusses on p. 387. In it Geoffrey Ridel is styled Archdeacon of Canterbury, a style which is always recognised as dating a charter 1163–1173. But as the words *Dei gratia* are found in the King's style, M. Delisle at once decides that it must at least be later than May, 1172, thus narrowing the date limit to twelve

¹ Vol. II, 143.

² See p. 69 above.

³ See his pp. 397–401, for the argument ending, “Il serait inutile de multiplier d'avantage les exemples qui montrent

quels résultats peuvent être obtenus en étudiant simultanément les formules de suscription, les dates de lieu et d'autres particularités,” etc.

months (p. 388). But, unfortunately for him, precisely the same combination is found in a Nottingham charter¹ which cannot be of that date. To that charter Geoffrey Ridel is a witness as Archdeacon of Canterbury, and in the King's style the words *Dei gratia* are found. But, as it was granted at Woodstock, it cannot belong to the above twelve months, during the whole of which the King was abroad. It is true that the text of this charter is known to us only, apparently, by the seventeenth century transcript of a careful and qualified man,² but that of M. Delisle's is derived from the *Cartæ antiquæ* only, and we have seen above that in the *Cartæ antiquæ* the words "*Dei gratia*" are found in a charter which cannot be later than 1159.³

It will be seen, therefore, that M. Delisle's "mathematical demonstration" that May, "1173"⁴ is one of the date limits for the change of style, rests solely on a charter of which the date cannot be proved.⁵ It is true that M. Delisle has another string to his bow, though not for the purpose of proving that the date limit is "May." Strangely enough, it is after he has proved to his own satisfaction this limit, that he adduces a Fontevrault charter, with "*Dei gratia*" in the style, which he dates "about the end of February" (1173).⁶ If so, this, and not the other, ought to be the governing charter,⁷ for it narrows down the date of the change to May, 1172—March, 1173. Yet even this is not, on M. Delisle's hypothesis, the earliest "*Dei gratia*" charter. Although my own *Calendar* was before him, he seems to have overlooked the fact that another Fontevrault charter (No. 1074) must be previous to his own, which includes it in a general confirmation. As he claims No. 1074 as "Post. à 1173" (by which inexact phrase he means that it is subsequent to the change of style), it follows that this, and not the one

¹ Stevenson's *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, I, 4.

² But M. Delisle himself relies for the other "leg" of his demonstration on a seventeenth century transcript.

³ See p. 68. Robert of Neubourg died in 1159.

⁴ pp. 382, 383.

⁵ My argument is that, in spite of the words "*Dei gratia*" the charter may be

earlier than May, 1172, in which case, of course, it becomes useless for his purpose.

⁶ "Du commencement de l'année 1173. . . . Il faut donc classer aux environs de la fin de février la date de la charte" (pp. 388-9).

⁷ It should be noted that this charter also is derived from a seventeenth century transcript (see note ² above).

which he prints (No. 1075), is the ultimate limit of his date.

But I have not nearly done with M. Delisle yet. Before I come to the notable charter which he has selected as the one on which I am most in error, I must prepare my readers for the shock in store by citing from my critic's argument this startling passage :

Or, de 1173 à 1176, Henry II. n'a résidé en France que de mai à juillet 1173 et d'août 1174 à mai 1175 (p. 398).

The years 1173 and 1174 are of unsurpassed importance ; they are those of the great rebellion against King Henry's power. In that critical period we cannot be too careful. What, then, will be said when I have to point out that in 1173 the King was abroad, not merely "from May to July," but actually for the whole year, except for a possible flying visit to England in the summer ;¹ and that in 1174 he was similarly abroad for the whole year, save for a month's visit to England.²

How my critic can have come to such signal grief in his facts it is not for me to say. Perhaps he transferred to May, 1173, Henry's landing in Normandy a year earlier (May, 1172); apparently he also transferred to 1173 Henry's departure from Normandy a year later (July, 1174), but such confusion as to facts speaks for itself.

And now at last I reach the charter which my critic himself selects as his *cheral de bataille*. With me he would break a lance. *Soit-il !*

Of all King Henry II.'s charters in my *Calendar of documents preserved in France*, the one he chooses for special discussion, the one on which he finds me most in error as to date, is that which confers on Odoin de Malpahu the *panneterie* of Rouen (No. 1280). So far back as the year 1852 M. Delisle printed this document from its only known source, a royal confirmation in July,

¹ This visit, which is mentioned by no chronicler, was deduced by Mr. Eyton from two or three entries on the Pipe Roll of 1173, and is accepted by M. Delisle on another page (p. 389). The question is discussed by Miss Norgate (*Angerin Kings*, II, 143-4), who accepts the fact and suggests the

end of June for the visit, but holds that "Henry suddenly crossed the sea . . . and was back again at Rouen so quickly that neither friends nor foes seem ever to have discovered his absence."

² 8th July-8th August. This visit is well ascertained.

1323. entered in a Register, in his *Cartulaire Normand*.¹ On that occasion he assigned it the date of "vers 1170." When I came to deal with this charter, I found myself in a great difficulty. The King's style undoubtedly was that of Henry II., and the charter was accepted, we have seen, without question as his by no less great an authority than M. Delisle. On the other hand, the names of the witnesses, though apparently corrupt, pointed rather, in my opinion, to the latter days of Henry I., which would make the document of the same period as our *Constitutio domus regis*. *Que faire?* An official calendar is no place for individual speculations; all that I could do was to indicate the difficulties presented by the text. Accordingly, I placed a "(sic)" after Henry II. and appended a footnote that "the style is given in full in the Register and is that of Henry II." to show that I was bound by the text. But after stating that M. Delisle dated it "vers 1170," I referred the reader to my Preface. There I wrote:

In spite of the great and just reputation of French scholars in *Diplomatique*, and of the fact that the *Archivistes* are trained in the *École des Chartes*, the editor has felt compelled to differ as to the dates of some documents, not only from these skilled officials but from some of the greatest authorities in France. . . . He has, however, in such cases been careful to record the dates which they have adopted. No. 1280, of interest for its bearing on our own *Constitutio domus regis*, presents great difficulties, as the witnesses' names are probably corrupt. The name of Robert de Curci proves that 1157 is the latest possible date, while if R[obert] de Ver were a witness, his name would be decisive proof that the charter was one of Henry I. about the close of his reign. It must therefore be concluded that he was not (p. 27).

Nevertheless, so sure did I feel that Robert de Ver *was* the witness, that I extended his Christian name, with a query, in square brackets, even though the King's style obliged me to date the charter "1156-1157." The result, no doubt, was inconsistent: a compromise was bound to be so.²

¹ He has since found another transcript, itself taken from a transcript.

² I similarly identified, within brackets, the Bishop of Lisieux, who heads the witnesses as John. M. Delisle rightly points out that as he died in 1141 he cannot have witnessed a charter of Henry II. But I believe that bishop John *was* the witness, for we find him

witnessing in conjunction with Robert de Courey and Robert de Ver late charters of Henry I. He held an important official position at the time, and he and Robert de Curci are thus the first two witnesses to a Norman document of the period (*Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de S. Etienne de Caen*, p. 44).

M. Delisle somewhat strangely seems to complain of my courteous allusion to what is surely a commonplace for students, French superiority in "Diplomatic." English scholars have long admitted it, and have even been sent to France to study at the *École des chartes*. My own knowledge is empiric only; I had never any training whatever in the subject. My critic, however, complains:

Ne pouvait-il pas se dispenser d'ajouter que la vérification était nécessaire "in spite of the great and just, etc."

But he finds himself in a difficult position; he has to discard his own date of "vers 1170," which he, oddly enough, nowhere speaks of as his own,¹ because by his new test, the charter (observe the phrase) "est assurément postérieure à 1173." All that he can plead is that "vers 1170" is a date less erroneous than "1156-1157" (p. 396).

Now, here the mischief of his method stands mercilessly revealed: his discovery becomes a fetish. A glance at the opening words of the document is all that is required. He has read my reasons for assigning an early date to the document; he has learnt that the witnesses' names create a great difficulty; and he casts such difficulty to the winds. And yet he tells us that the date of this charter is one that is important to determine,² and apologises for the stress he lays on it.³

What, then, are the names of the witnesses as they have reached us in the Register?

"Loxoviensi (*sic*) episcopo; Willelmo de H[el]ion; R. de Vier; R. de Corci; Johanne Martel (*sic*) Apud Monfort.

As the bishop's name is not given, he affords us no clue. John Martel is a man⁴ unknown as a witness. I appended a "*(sic)*" to his name and queried in the index the possibility of his being really John (the) Marshal. Three names remain, the names of known men. William

¹ It is vaguely spoken of as that of "l'éditeur normand," "le diplomate français."

² "L'antépénultième de ces chartes est particulièrement intéressante, et il importe d'en fixer la date, parce que c'est un des premiers textes qui nous soient

parvenus sur l'histoire industrielle de Rouen."

³ "J'ai peut-être trop insisté sur la charte dont il s'agit."

⁴ See for the Martel family the Cartulary of St. John's, Colechester.

de Helion witnessed charters of the Empress¹ (including one in 1155), and an early one of Henry II;² his name, therefore, like that of R[obert] de Curci, is absolutely consistent with the date 1156-7. The name, as I explained in my preface, which is not consistent with that date, is that of R[obert] de Ver. It is on the conjunction of Robert de Ver and Robert de Courcy that I finally take my stand. The one was a constable, the other a *dapifer*, at the close of Henry I.'s reign, after which Robert de Ver eventually sided with Stephen, and was a frequent witness to his charters while Robert de Courcy espoused the Angevin cause and was similarly a frequent witness to charters of the Empress and her son.

Now, charters belonging to the close of Henry I.'s reign show us the two Roberts—

- (1) Witnessing in conjunction.
- (2) With the King in Normandy.
- (3) Entered with initials only, as they were well known men.
- (4) Robert de Ver entered normally before Robert de Courcy.

For instance, in the cartulary of Ramsey (L. 250) we find a charter of Henry I. granted at Falaise, with these witnesses :

Johanne episcopo Lisiacensi; episcopo Carliolensi; Roberto de Sigillo; Rogero de Fiscampo; Roberto comite Glocestrie; Alberico de Ver, et R[oberto] de Ver, et R[oberto] de Curci, etc.

My *Calendar* itself is rich in examples. No. 374 is a Rouen charter of Henry I. in 1133, witnessed among others by "Roberto de Ver, et Roberto de Curci," and No. 375 is a Rouen charter of Henry I., in 1134, among the witnesses to which are "Roberto de Ver et R[oberto] de Curci;" and No. 959 is another Rouen charter, in 1133, witnessed among others by John bishop of Lisieux, "R[oberto] de Ver, R[oberto] de Curci et Unfrido de Bohon." Another Norman charter is No. 541, granted at Arganchy by Henry I. towards the close of his reign, to which the two last witnesses are "R[oberto] de Ver et

¹ See my *Calendar*, pp. 63, 72, 89, 208.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

R[oberto] de Curci." A Winchester charter (No. 610) in favour of a Falaise foundation has among its witnesses R[oberto] de Curci et Umfrido de Buhum et R[oberto] de Ver," and may be of the same date as the Winchester charters in the Bath Cartulary,¹ both of which are similarly witnessed by "G[aufrido] cancellario et R[oberto] de Sigillo," while one of them has among its witnesses "R[oberto] de Curci et R[oberto] de Ver," and the other "R[oberto] de Ver et R[oberto] de Curci." Lastly, in a charter of Stephen, in 1135, Warden Abbey, "R[oberto] de Ver et R[oberto] de Curci" occur as witnesses.² That this conjunction should be found in the charter I am now discussing is decisive, I assert, of its epoch.

But, it may be urged, the King's style is that of Henry II. No doubt, and if that fact be considered a fatal objection, we must date the charter as in my *Calendar*, 1156-7. But I do not admit that it is fatal. We are dealing not with an original document but with a transcript made so late as 1323, and one in which the names of the witnesses appear to be corrupt. The scribe need not have interpolated the words *Dei gratia* (as M. Delisle admits was sometimes done), but only the "Duke of the Aquitanians" formula. That scribes were peculiarly liable to confuse charters of Henry I. with those of Henry II. is a fact, surely, familiar to all students of our cartularies, but I can even produce a recent and startling instance. A charter, obviously of Henry I., and attested as it happens, by "R. de Curey," is published in our *Calendar of Patent Rolls* as "A charter of Henry II. (*circa* 1157)."³

It is not the first time that I have had to challenge a style, as a critic who is guided by something more than mere "rule of thumb." In the preface to my *Calendar* I wrote :

As experts know, a frequent snare is set, in scribes' copies, by the trick of assigning, as above, to a king or noble a style he did not bear

¹ Somerset Record Society, pp. 54, 55.

² *Monasticon*, V, 372.

³ Vol. for 1377-1381, p. 111. The charters immediately preceding it show that the grantee was living under

Henry I., and one in the Vol. for 1399-1401 (p. 420)—a charter of Henry I. witnessed by "Roberto de Curey"—confirms the fact.

till a date later than the charter. An interesting example of this is found in No. 113, which assigns to William I. his regal style. M. Delisle, who cites this document as a "Fausse chartre," writes:

"La fausseté de cette chartre résulte de ce que Guillaume y prend le titre de roi d'Angleterre, et de ce qu'elle est souscrite par plusieurs personnes dont la mort arriva avant 1066."

The editor, however, ventures to hold that this is a charter of the critical years 1035-1037, and that the list of witnesses is wholly consistent with that date, allowing for the interpolation by a long subsequent scribe in accordance with a mischievous practice of an antedated style (pp. xxv-xxvi.)

The parallel, it will be seen, is close; in each case the problem must be solved by a method of criticism less primitive and, if I may say so, less crude than that of M. Léopold Delisle.

For what is the conclusion of the whole matter? Called upon to deal with a secondary source, such a *vidimus* as those in which the scribe was apt, he himself admits, to interpolate the words *Dei gratia*, he completely ignores his own admission, and informs us that a glance¹ determines the question, that their mere presence is proof positive that the charter must be later than 1173. And M. Delisle goes further: he even asserts that "la date est beaucoup plus voisine de la fin que du commencement du règne" (p. 397). For this assertion he gives us no ground whatever. I, on the other hand, have shown that of its three certain witnesses, two, who appear in conjunction, appear in similar conjunction in quite a number of charters about the close of the reign, not of Henry II. but of Henry I.

Here, then, we have M. Léopold Delisle selecting as his own battleground a charter with which he has long been familiar, a charter which to him, as a Norman antiquary, is of peculiar interest and importance. It is on this charter that he pronounces me most in error as to date. I reply that it is he himself who has erred so incredibly as to assign to the closing portion of the reign of Henry II. a charter which really belongs to the close of the reign of his grandfather some half a century before. If in this contention I am right, further

¹ "au premier coup d'œil."

discussion is needless. Our faith in the knowledge, in the critical judgment of M. Léopold Delisle, in what the French would term his *flair d'archéologue*, will have been so rudely shaken that his conclusions on the charters of Henry II. cannot possibly be accepted until his evidence has been all seen and submitted to a searching scrutiny.¹

¹ Mr. H. J. Ellis, of the Department of MSS., British Museum, has kindly examined for me the original charters of Henry II. in the Department, and he

informs me that there are among them indisputable exceptions to the rule which M. Delisle, we have seen, lays down as absolute.



HOW THE ELEPHANT BECAME A BISHOP: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF CHESS PIECES.

By HOWARD CANDLER, M.A.¹

The origin of chess “se cache dans une profonde nuit.” Many contradictory explanations have been put forward, and some of them are self-contradictory. The explanation here offered does not offend against etymology or historical continuity, while it is borne out by definite facts.

It seems there was a four-handed game played in India called *chatranga*. The pieces used were elephants, horses, foot-soldiers, and chariots, and they represented the four ranks (Sanskrit *chatr*=Latin *quattuor*=four, and Sanskrit *anga*=rank) and the board was the field of battle of the contending forces. This game was adopted and modified by the Persians, who, ignorant of the meaning of the Sanskrit word, called it *chatrang*, or *shatranj*, and connected it with the name of the king or *shah*.²

The Arabians borrowed the game from the Persians, and invented the phrase *shah mata* (the king is dead) to indicate the end of the game. The Arabic word *mata* was incorporated into the language of the Persians in a similar sense.³

Finally the different races of Europe learnt the game

¹ Read before the Institute, April 19th, 1907.

² There is a word *satringe* in Bengalese, meaning a carpet; and Mr. D. Barrington (*Archæologia*, ix, 23) connected this word with a chess board in accordance with the chequered pattern. This derivation, however, will not hold, in view of what is advanced above, though there may be still some connection between the words, as in the case of our *chess*, *Eschequer*. A more doubtful point arises from the existence of the Sanskrit word *kshatra*—a chief of royal or military rank. It is the same as Old Persian *kshathra*, which perhaps is the older word.

³ Murray's Dictionary, *sub nomine* *Mate*, says, “Gildemeister, Dozy, and other modern scholars dispute the customary view that the Persian word is adapted Arab. *mât*, ‘he has died.’” The derivation here indicated is that the Persian *shâh mât* means “the king is helpless.” With this agrees the mediæval Latin *mattus*, defined as *tristis* in Gloss., Paris, tenth century, and with it may be compared the O.F. and Provençal, and the modern Spanish, Portuguese and Italian words, *mat*, *mate*, *matto*, dull, foolish, mad.

from the Arabians and the Moors of Cordova, and, with it, adapted the words they found to their own tongues. Thus in English we get *chess*, *check*, *chequers*, *Exchequer*, and other familiar words. Especially interesting as approaching the original *chatranga* is the Spanish word *ajedrez* for chess, if the history of that very ancient word should give reason to believe that it was derived through medial sources from the Indian root.

The following are the names of the pieces now in use among the various nations of Europe :—

| English. | Spanish. | Portuguese. | Italian. | French. | German. |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|----------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Chess. | Ajedrez. | Xaque. | Scacchi. | Les échecs. | Schachspiel. |
| King | Rey | Rei | Re | Roi | König. |
| Queen | Dama | Rainha | Regina | Reine | Königin. |
| Rook (Castle) | Roque | Roque | Rocco | Tour (Roc (Dame) O.F.) | Thurm (Roche). |
| Bishop | Alfil | Delphin | Alfiere | Fou | Läufer. |
| Knight | Caballero | Cavallo | Cavallo | Cavalier | Springer. |
| Pawn | Peon | Pião | Pedina | Pion | Bauer. |

It will be observed in the course of this paper that the various names of each piece in the above list have nearly all close historical or etymological connection with the other names of the same piece. There are, however, exceptions. *Der Läufer* (the runner) and *der Springer* (the jumper) are names evidently derived from the *moves* of the bishop and knight respectively. *Der Bauer* (the peasant) denotes the lowly position of the pawn and may be compared with the old French names of the piece, *garçon* and *ferre* (the workman). The Italian *pedina* (compare our English word "street-walker") denotes contempt. But the word should properly be *pedone*, a foot-soldier, as we shall see later on. The word *bishop* will demand particular examination.

Before proceeding to consider the names of the pieces separately, it may be pointed out here with advantage that, whereas the Oriental game represented a battlefield, the European game rather represents a military court or a tournament. We have queens as well as kings, jesters and bishops as well as knights and foot-soldiers, and the court is associated with a mediaeval castle, or, perhaps, is protected by archers in towers mounted on elephants.¹

¹ "Les rocz sont élefans portans tours sur leur dos, et des hommes dans les tours." *Plaisant jeu des Echaz.*

In considering the pieces, we will not take them in order of dignity, but in order of the difficulty of the problem to be attacked, dismissing with a word or two the pieces about which there is little to be said.

The king or the shah, (who does not enter into the Indian game), is the royal personage whose name is identified with the game, whose life is the life of the game, and whose death denotes its termination. "The king is dead" is the cry of the victor, unless your opponent in playing is a king, in which case the cry was euphemistically softened into "The king has retired."

The knight, the cavalier or horse-soldier, has not greatly changed in form as a piece or in the name given to it. In Latin it is sometimes styled *cornu*, which, like our word cornet, appears to be derived from the form of the pennon or ensign which he carried, a streamer diminishing to one point, or to two forked points. There is, however, a good deal of confusion about the word: *cornuz* and other derived French words usually denote our bishop, but a line from a poem cited by Du Cange under the heading *Pedites*—

Roy, fierce, chevalier, auffin, roc, et cornu—

raises further difficulties.¹

We shall see later on that bishops in chess were called *cornuti* from their mitres. This title is also given to bishops in ecclesiastical fashion, apart from the game. I quote an amusing quatrain from Du Cange :—

Nostri Cornuti sunt consilio quasi muti,
Et quia non tuti, nequeunt sermonibus uti,
Sunt quasi confusi, decreto legis abusi;
Sic perit ecclesia, juris et ipsa via.²

As the knight is the horse soldier, so the pawn is the foot-

¹ The whole passage (from *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, no date), is :

Li piau d'esmeraudes vertes com pré-
herbu,
Li autres de rubis vermaus com ardent
fu ;
Roi, fierce, chevalier, aullin, roc et cornu
Furent fet de saphir, et si et or molu ;
Li autre (*sic*) de topace, o toute lor
vertu.

This can only mean that the pawns on one side were emerald, on the other

ruby ; while the five principal pieces on the first side were sapphire, on the other topaz. But what of the words "roc et cornu" ? Sir F. Madden suggests the substitution "et roc cornu,"³⁷ making "cornu" an adjective. This would give sense, but one would be glad of authority for a *horned dromedary*, or a *horned castle*.

² I presume that the last line is intended to be a pentameter. Or is it intended to rhyme ?

soldier. Our *pawn* is the French *pion* (that is, *piéton*); it is the Italian *pedina*, an erroneous corruption of *pedone*; and it is the Latin *pedes*. Littré in his *Dictionnaire*, *sub nomine* Pion, derives the *pawn* from *paon* or *paonnet*. “L’ancien français donne *paonnet* et *poon*; or *poon* est une des anciennes formes de *paon*. On doit penser que primitivement une des dénominations de cette pièce a été tirée du *paon* ou du petit *paon*, à cause que le *pion* avait la figure de cet oiseau. Puis *poon*, *peon* s’est confondu avec *pion*” (in the sense of *piéton*, *fantassin*). The last part of this statement is not very clear. The French language was largely derived from or mixed with Italian sources through the Provençal. Now, the Provençal for a pawn was *peonet* and for a foot-soldier was *peon*. Comparing this word with the corresponding words in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, it is clear that the root of the Provençal word, with both meanings (*i.e.*, the chess-man and the foot-soldier) was the same, namely *ped*, a foot; but when the word was adopted for a pawn by the French, they derived it neither from the root *ped*, nor from the word *piéton*; not knowing what to make of it, they allied it with *paon*, and so called it *paon*, *paonnet*, and even *pavonet*. But, further, Littré tells us that the pawn “had the form of a little peacock.” It is difficult to prove from a negative, but after a careful review of the bibliography of the subject and some study of the museums of Cluny and the Louvre, I cannot find any ancient pawn represented as a peacock. If, however, such a form exists it would not go further than to shew that it was supposed that a piece called a *paon* ought to be a peacock. Of course, the present form *pion* comes from a correct derivation and not from an alteration of *poon*, *paonnet*.

We pointed out the humble forms of *Bauer*, *pedina*, and *fevre* for the pawn. In a similar manner the word *pion* is used contemptuously by French school-boys for an usher.

We now come to the rook. This piece appears on European chess boards as a castle, or as a castle upon an elephant. Now a castle on an elephant could be moved about on a battlefield, but a castle or tower would be fixed. The forms *castle*, *tour*, *torre*, *Thurm*, *turris*,

point to a fixed tower or fortress. How does this meaning come from the forms *rook*, *rocco*, *roque*?

The Persian for a camel or a dromedary is *rokh*. Zambaldi in his *Vocabolario Etimologico Italiano* translates it *cammello con sopra gli arcieri*, which would suit us very well. In a long Persian poem the whole of the long last canto describes very fully a game of chess, and in this the *rokh* is introduced, but nothing is mentioned of archers on its back. Now, the Italian has a word *rocca*, which means a fortress upon a rock,¹ or simply a tower. Here, then, we get the explanation. The word *rokh* became in their language *rocco*. Under the analogy of *rocca*, the piece must be a castle; under the influence of Oriental forms of the piece on the board, it would be sometimes a dromedary or an elephant, sometimes an animal with a castle on its back with archers or other men of war. And thus, too, the English call the piece a rook and represent it by a castle.

And what about the queen?

One of the pieces in the Persian game is called the *ferz* or *ferzin*. The word implies the great man in the palace of the Shah, the vizier or emir (primarius aulae praefectus, Du Cange), the man whose business it was to regulate the household of the monarch in the palace and to protect his life in the field. This *ferz* in the Persian game had very little power of movement, and though a body-guard of the king, very limited means of attack. In Latin the name was changed to *fercia*, and it appears in European tongues as *fiers*, *fierce*, *fierge*, *vierge*, and so, back again in Latin, as *virgo*, *domina*, *regina*. Thus in a Latin poem:—

Miles et alpinus, roccus, rex, virgo, pedesque,

and in a French poem of the twelfth century:—

La grans roïne, la grans dame
Ki du ciel est roïne et fierce.

and in the *Romant de la Rose* the Queen is called *vierge* and in early English MSS. *fierce* or *fiers*. Thus the vizier became the Queen of Heaven, the holy Virgin, and, later, the consort of the King.

¹ Sicuro quasi rocca in alto monte (Dante, *Purg.*).

The rest of this paper concerns itself with the question how the elephant of the Oriental game became the English bishop. The word elephant is said to be of Phœnician origin. It appears that the word is not found in Sanskrit or in Egyptian hieroglyphics. The first European use of the word is in the Greek *ἐλέφας* in the sense of "ivory," showing that the knowledge of the article preceded the knowledge of the animal. In Latin, ivory is sometimes *ebur Indicum* and sometimes *ebur Lybicum*. The Hebrews seem to have got their gold, ivory, apes and peacocks from Ophir, which is now hypothetically placed in Africa. It seems more likely that this ivory was African than Indian. In later usage the word *ἐλέφας* in Greek, and *elephas*, *elephants*, *elephantus* in Latin, meant an elephant. Pliny tells us that the Romans were first acquainted with the animal in their wars against Pyrrhus, when they called it *bos Lucas*, the Lucanian ox. This nominal confusion between an ox and an elephant, which we shall see extended over several languages, is one between two animals which do not appear to resemble one another in the least. A parallel instance, however, is that of a caterpillar, which certainly does not resemble a cat or a bear (*cf.* woolly-bear), where, however, the word is etymologically derived from the French *chat pelouse* (hairy cat), just as the Swiss style it colloquially the *teufelskatz*.¹

Now, the first letter of the Phœnician alphabet is *cleph*, and its character is an ox. Through *cleph* we get the Hebrew *aleph*, the Greek *alpha*, the Arabic *alif*, and the Latin *A*. Here again there is a connection between the sound *cleph* (elephant) and the character *ox*. This connection in Hebrew characters, before the development of the present square letters, is still more in evidence, as the earlier forms of the letter *aleph* resembled an ox; and, indeed, the word *elephantus* is said to be *eleph-Hind*, the Indian ox.

Now, in the Arabian game of chess the piece which we call a bishop was represented by an elephant, though it had not quite the same functions as the modern piece. The foreign word *elephant* was turned by them into *al*

¹ The modern French *chenille* comes from the Latin *canicula*—a little dog.

Phyl, the first syllable being mistaken for the Arabian definite article *al*. That is, they called the piece "the Phyl." But when the mediaeval players of Europe adopted the game from the Arabs, they supposed that the Arab word *al*, as in the cognate cases of *algebra*, *alchemy*, etc., was an inseparable part of the word. Hence the Latin *alphinus*, the Spanish *alfil*, the early Italian *alfino*, the French and English *alfin* or *aufin*, the Portuguese *delfin*.¹

This Portuguese word *delfin* demands some explanation. Doubtless the derivation is *do* (genitive case of "the") *alfin*. But as *delfin* in Portuguese means a *dolphin* or the *Dauphin*, we see a cause for the mistake in naturalising the word. I do not know how the piece now or in earlier times is or has been represented on the Portuguese board, but as I have seen chess-men among which our bishop has the appearance of a prince (as indeed it was sometimes called), it is quite possible that the Portuguese complete the family group of king and queen with an eldest son, heir to the throne. Many corresponding errors (arising from some confusion with regard to the article) can be detected in language. Thus *an eke-name* becomes *a nickname*, and we get indifferently *an eft* and *a newt*. The Italian *all'erta* becomes the French *alerte* and the English *alert*. In Switzerland the place *Lavaraz* becomes *L'Avare*, and an explanatory legend grows up.² In France the *lapis lazuli* give us *azur* for blue, and our English *azure*.³ Again, the Italian fish (of a yellowish character) *orata* (Zeus Faber) becomes the French *dorée* (de-aurata) and the English *John Dory*. And correspondingly, to return to chess, in Italian the present

¹ How the Arabs got the last *l* in *al Phyl* out of the *n* in *elephant*, and how the European nations got the *n* (in such words as *alfin*, *alphinus*) out of the Arabian *al Phyl*, is a problem I am quite unable to solve. I am told on trustworthy authority that the oldest known Arabian word for an elephant has no *n* in it. But cf. *μεγάλος* = *magnus*, *νύμφη* = *lymphæ*, *σὸλ* = *sun*, *chimney* = (Scotch) *chimley*.

² So, Virgil tells us, *Æn.*, 1, 366-9, the citadel of New Carthage was named *Byrsa* from the conditions of sale of the merchantman, that as much ground

should be brought as could be surrounded by an ox hide. There can be no doubt that the word *Byrsa* is not connected with the Greek *Βύρσα* (a hide) but with the Phœnician word which means a citadel, and is familiar to us in the O.T. under the form *Bozrah*.

³ *Lazuli* = *Lazuri* = *L'azur* = *azur*, the intermediate *l* becoming, as so often, *r*, as we shall see with the word *alfil*. It is worthy of note that in the first French edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*, the *lapis lazuli* (the stone itself, not the colour) is called *le azur*.

name for the *alfino* (also *arfino*) is *alfiere*; probably, assonantly, because *al Phyl* became *alfil*, and *alfil* became *alfier* or *alfiere*; but even more because *alfil* presented no sense to an Italian, while *alfiere* has a meaning, *i.e.*, a standard-bearer.¹

The French name for the *alfin* is *le fou*, derived as follows : *al=le* ; *phyl=fil=fol=fou*; and so in the *Romant de la Rose* the *alfin* is *le fol*.

Thus the *elephant* has become *the fool*—probably the court fool or the king's jester.

But how are we to get to the English name of this piece—the bishop—a name which moved the indignation of the grave Sir Philip Sidney, who in his *Defence of Poesie* expostulates at the indignity of giving to “a peece of wood the reuerend title of a Bishop”?

This is a question of immense difficulty, not, so far as I know, in the way of being solved in any of the treatises devoted to the question of the names of chess-men. Judging by analogy of such words as *chess*, *rook*, *pawn*, *le fou*, *delfin*, *alfiere*, *vierge*, *check mate*, etc., we might expect the word *bishop* to have been adopted for the purposes of the game into our language by false etymology. But of this there is not the slightest evidence, and this quest must be abandoned. No modern language, I think, has applied the sound *bishop*, or any like sound coming from an Eastern origin, to the piece in question, except the English and the Icelandic peoples.

But if the piece has not been generally given the *name* of *bishop*, the ecclesiastical character has been recognised repeatedly, and that from very early times. There are English chess-men denoting *bishops* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the British Museum. Sir F. Madden (*Archæologia*, xxiv, 203) discovered these bishops of the middle of the twelfth century in the Isle of Lewis. Mr. Douse (*Archæologia*, xi, 403) refers us to Saul's *Game of Chess Play* (1640), where the bishops represent the clergy “with high cloven heads like bishops' mitres,” and he quotes Pamphilus Maxilianus to the

¹ Zambaldi in his Italian Etymological Dictionary suggests that this word *alfiere* comes direct from the Arab *al fâris* a cavalier. This, however, would

be the derivation of the *literary* word, and not of the name of the piece on the chess-board, so that no contradiction or confusion arises.

following effect, in a fanciful parallelism with the planets of the mediæval system, Mercury being omitted :

Rex est Sol ; pedes est Saturnus ; Mars quoque miles ;
Regia Virgo, Venus ; Alpinus, episcopus ipse, est
Juppiter ; et Rocens discurrrens Luna.

So an old Latin author calls the piece *Calvus*, alluding to the shaven crown of a monk :—

Juxta illam (the Queen) Calvum pone quasi pro custodia.

There is also an *opusculum* of Innocent III. (who became Pope in 1198), entitled *Moralitas de Scaccario per Dñm Innocentiu*, ppam—a translation of which I take from a book named “Chess” by an anonymous author of 1787 :—

“The Alphins are the various prelates of the Church : Pope, Archbishop, and their subordinate bishops, who rise to their Sees, not so much by divine inspiration as by royal power, interest, entreaties, and ready money. These Alphins move and take obliquely three points, for almost every prelate’s mind is perverted by love, hatred, or bribery, not to reprehend the guilty or bark against the vicious, but rather to absolve them from their sins ; so that those who should have extirpated vice are, in consequence of their own covetousness, become promoters of vice and advocates of the Devil.”

But we can go farther than that. The impossibility that a “reuerend bishop” should be a fool, and the certainty that he was a fool, exercised the ingenuity of the mediæval writers on the Play of Chess. Sir F. Madden quotes (*Archæologia*, xxiv. 227) :—

Ore uient le gin des alfins
Ke n'est pas poure ne srarins ;
Tut seit iceo qu'il seit cornuz,
Ne deit estre pur fol tenuz.
Kar mult par ad grant mestier
Li alfins en leschekier.

That is, everybody knows that the bishops are of great authority on the chess-board and cannot be reckoned as fools. They are *cornuti*, that is, mitred folk.

Again, on the other hand :—

Sie inter schachos alpinus inutilis extat ;
Inter aves bubo,

which may be an allusion to the character of the alpinus as a recognised fool, or to the earlier movements of the piece. It could only move along three diagonal squares,

with the privilege of jumping over an intervening piece, as in the quotation above from Pope Innocent. Thus :—

Stultus saltator trivius quasi fur speculator
Si rubus in primo, nunquam cande-bit in imo.¹

Here is an extract from the *Morte d'Arthure* of the fifteenth century :—

Myche wondere have I, pat syche an alfyne as thow dare speke
syche wordez ;

and in Godefroy's *Dictionnaire Ancienne de la Langue Française* are many very interesting parallel passages.

The alfin, then, was a cleric of a bad character and a fool. These contrarieties may be perhaps reconciled in the following ways :

1. The licentious satire of the Middle Ages lent itself with peculiar zest to the bating of the clergy, and moral indignation and scornful laughter were frequently not without abundant cause.

2. The two-peaked cap and bells of the fool and the cloven mitre of the bishop have a certain resemblance, and might be the cause of confusion.

3. The useless moves of the alfin, considered as a bishop, might mark him as a fool.

4. In *Merrie England* we had a " Bishop of Fools," an " Abbot of Misrule," an " Abbot of Unreason," a Boy Bishop of St. Nicholas Day on the " Festival of Fools " ; and on the Continent we have an " Episcopus puerorum " and a " Puer episcopali habitu ornatus."

But though we may have thus successfully bridged over the confusion arising from the same piece being at once a bishop and a fool, and though we have etymologically explained how it is that the alfin became *le fou*, we are no nearer to discovering how the alfin originally was endowed with episcopal functions.

I suggest the following explanation :

The elephant had become the Italian alfil. This must mean something. The Portuguese said it was a dolfin or a Dauphin. The Italians said it was an *alfiere*, i.e., a

¹ Observe the *stultus* and the *trivius*, and the *fur speculator*. I can guess at no meaning in the second line. If *rubus* is a false transcription for *rubet*,

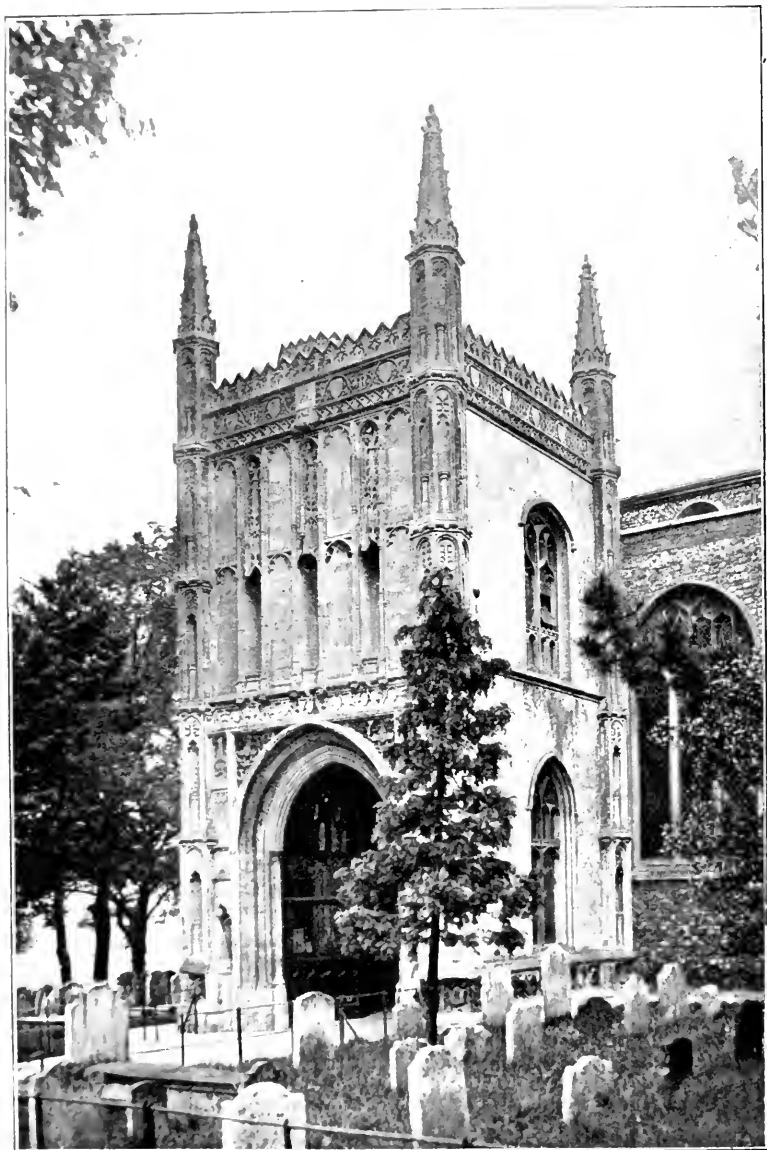
the contrast with *cande-bit* is made clear, but not the sense. The couplet is in Du Cange.

standard-bearer. I suggest that from this notion of a standard-bearer came the notion of the high character of the piece. In any case, it was sometimes a judge; sometimes a lawyer (civil or ecclesiastical according to the colour); in Italy and England an archer; in other countries a prince.¹ In all countries a piece with the character and name of a cleric (*Calrus*, *Cornutus*, *Póp* in Poland, etc.), and among us and the Scandinavian races, from the earliest times a Bishop. “Alphinus, episcopus ipse.”

¹ Thus Rowbotham (1562), as given in Murray's Dictionary :—
“The Bishoppes some name Alfius, some

fooles, and some name them Princes; other some call them Archers.”





BECCLES.

SOUTH PORCH.



A DAY'S EXCURSION AMONG THE CHURCHES OF SOUTH-EAST NORFOLK.¹

By CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A.

It is always a delight to the lover of English ecclesiastical architecture to be able to find a district where all the churches may possess features of exceptional interest. In some instances purely agricultural areas, somewhat removed from the busy hum of commercial life, still retain their parish churches but little altered since they were first built in the eleventh or early twelfth centuries, and, owing to a lack of wealth or prosperity, but little affected by that sweeping tide of restoration which has done so much to destroy the architectural sentiment and interest in so many early buildings.

Such a district I visited first in 1877, and again in 1905, and it seems to present features not generally known, and worth bringing under the notice of the Institute.

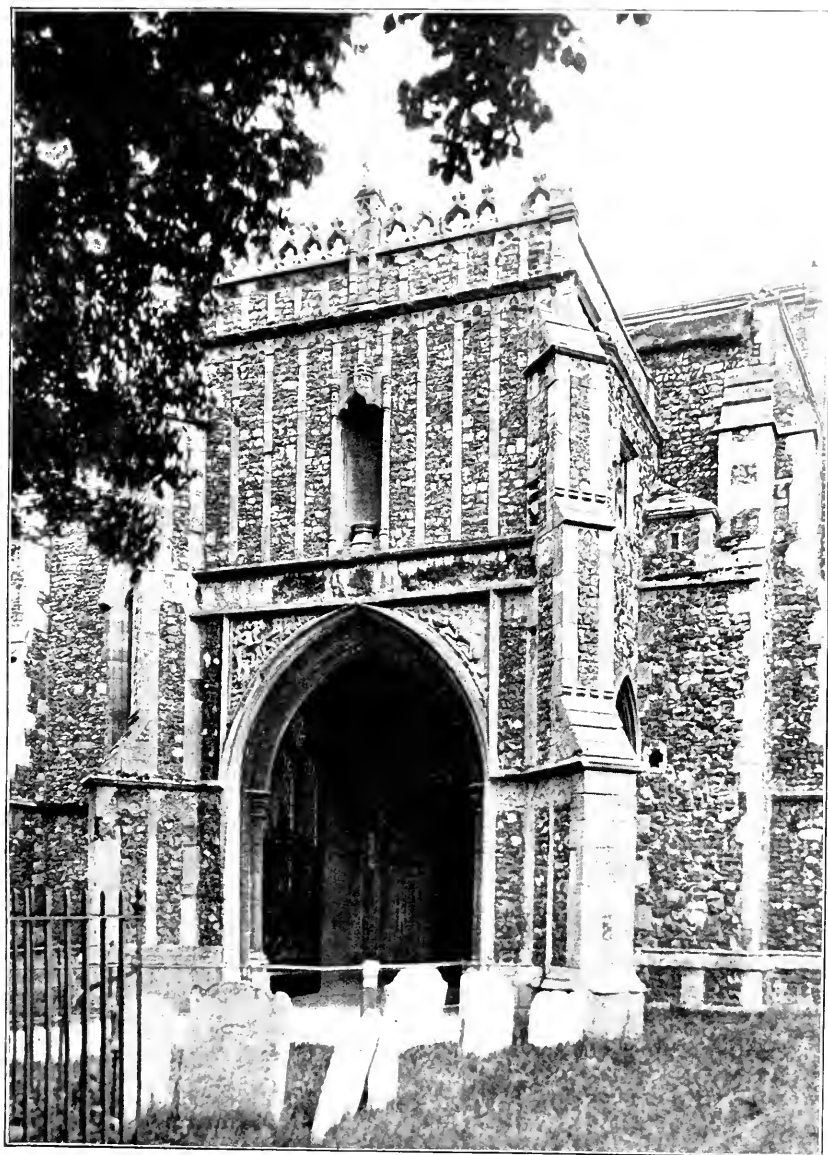
The hundred of Clavering occupies the south-eastern corner of the county of Norfolk, being bounded on the south and east by the river Waveney, which separates it from the sister county of Suffolk. The parishes are fairly close together, and the churches, as a rule, are more interesting for their antiquity than for their size ; but I trust that a brief survey of ground, which it would take a day to traverse either on foot or on wheels, together with the illustrations which accompany this paper, will confirm my view that the churches are well worthy of the attention bestowed upon them.

We find that just before the Norman Conquest, almost the whole of this district belonged to Stigand, the great Saxon archbishop of Canterbury. Later on, the Bigods, earls of Norfolk, and other distinguished personages,

¹ Read before the Institute February 6th, 1907.

became possessors of the manors and other property in the hundred; and to their munificence, no doubt, the building of these early churches was mainly due.

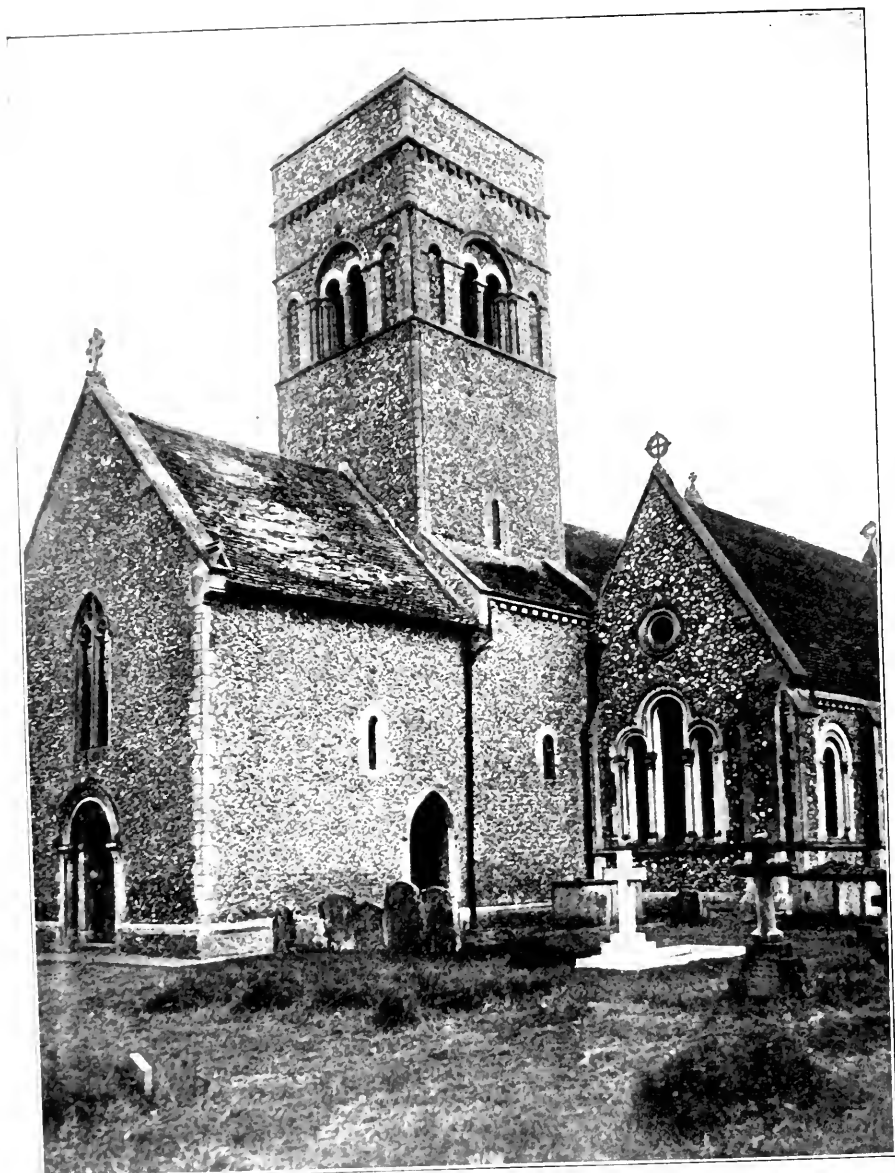
The most convenient place to put up, so as to be able to make an early start, is the little market town of Beccles, situate on the south, or Suffolk, side of the river Waveney. The church is well known for its fine detached belfry tower and noble south porch (Plate I), both built of beautifully squared stone, and dating from the fifteenth century. The interior is rather bare, the fine rood-screen and other ornamental details having been destroyed by fire some few years ago; but the continuous nave and chancel arcade, with clerestory above, and the seven-light east and west windows, are fine examples of the perpendicular style. Most of the aisle windows are also of this date, but there are three on the north side of the decorated period. The bowl of the font, which is of Purbeck marble, and has two pointed arches on each face, is probably of early thirteenth-century date, and forms the oldest portion of the church. The south porch, with its numerous niches formerly filled with images, and with a parvise above, is an unusually elaborate specimen of fifteenth-century work. The ceiling is groined, and there are three carved bosses: that in the centre with a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin; that on the east with a large head, perhaps the Jaws of Hell, devouring a human figure; and that on the west with buildings, perhaps intended for the Heavenly Mansions. There are numerous shields commemorating the families at whose cost this addition to the church was erected, and crowned M's recording the dedication of the church to the Blessed Virgin Mary. A series of shields also runs round the west doorway which seem to be charged with the implements of the Passion and the Trinity banner. On the north side of the nave is another porch (Plate II) built of flint and ashlar with parvise above, and on the spandrils of the outer arch is on one side a wild man with a club, and on the other a dragon, with a niche above, while the interior is groined, and on one of the bosses are two serpents. The north doorway is earlier than the porch, and has well-moulded orders and a row of roses in a hollow of the hoodmould. The detached tower, in four stages, with



BECCLES.

NORTH PORCH.





GILLINGHAM.

VIEW FROM THE SOUTH WEST.



GILLINGHAM.

INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

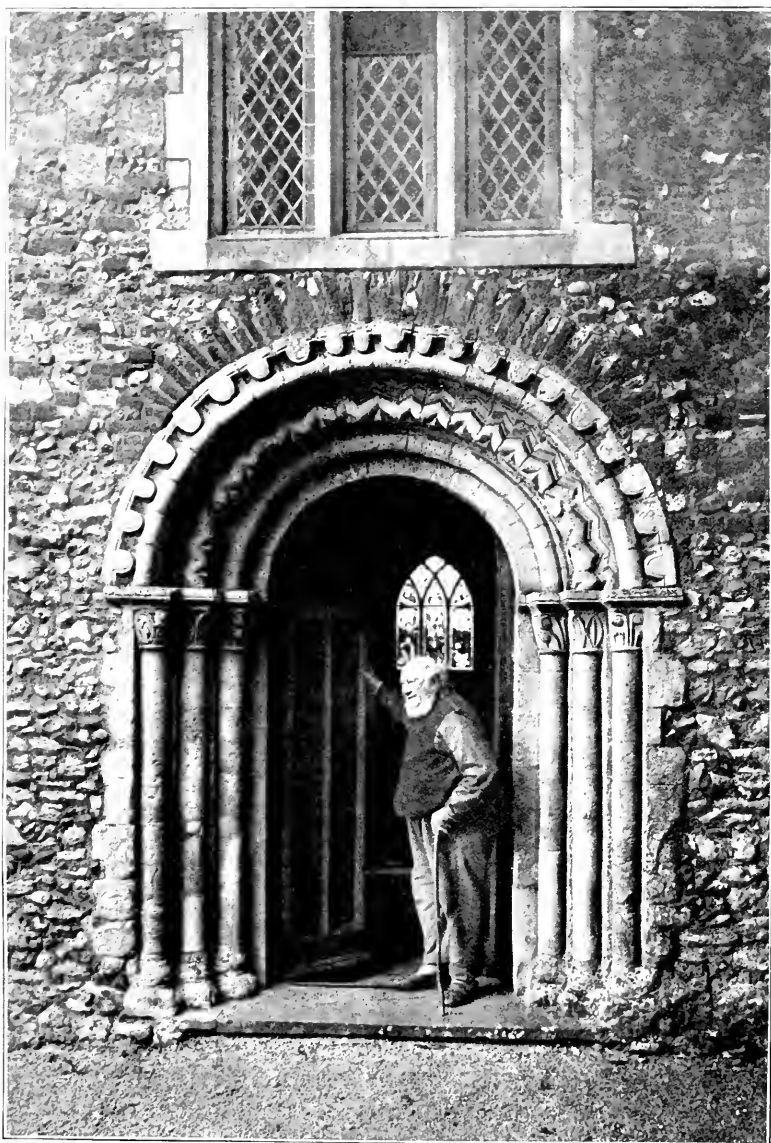
numerous richly-ornamented windows and many shields commemorating the former benefactors of the church, contains three beautiful canopied niches on the west face.

There are numerous other interesting details; but we must not delay, but cross the river. About a mile on the other side stands Gillingham. Here were originally two parish churches, and slight remains of two more chapels or churches are still in existence. The two churches of St. Mary and All Saints stand side by side, about sixty yards apart, separated by the private drive leading up to the Hall. Of All Saints there now remains only a flint tower of fifteenth-century date, almost entirely concealed by ivy; but in the present parish church of St. Mary we find a very singular and early building, much injured by excessive and injudicious restoration (Plates III and IV). The key is kept under a tombstone in the churchyard, and it is not very easy to gain admittance. The church consists of a west tower with an annexe for a baptistery on the west side, a nave with modern north and south aisles, a chancel and a semicircular apse. The tower rests on four massive and plain semicircular headed arches: it is of rather narrow dimensions, though the carving on the window openings, etc., is very rich in detail, and probably of early date. There is a corbel table of heads round the upper portion, while on the belfry stage is a double-light window resting on central and side shafts, and a blind semicircular arch on either side. On the north, which is the most elaborate side, we note the zigzag in the arch, and on the hoodmould of the containing arch the double cone and scallop ornament. On the east side is the bold zigzag in the arch, and the out-turned semicircles or scallops, commonly called the cheese-moulding, which is peculiar to the eastern counties, on the containing arch, and the indented ornament on the blind arch on each side. On the west side are a series of labels and a roll in the arch, and on the south the roll moulding only. On the middle stage on the north is a small window with several courses of incised zigzag. The western annexe was no doubt used as a baptistery, and there is a holy water stoup on the west side of the western tower arch. Good Norman arches with roll

mouldings open from the nave to the chancel, and from the chancel to the apse, which retains its stone groining. At the west end are preserved two panels of the fifteenth-century rood-screen which have a diaper pattern on a red ground and gilding on the spandrels. The arches to the aisles are modern with somewhat elaborate carving in the Norman style. To the annexe and western portion of the nave are two Norman windows on the south and one on the north side. A two-light perpendicular window has been inserted in the west wall. There are three doorways to the western portion: that on the south side has a plain pointed arch and hoodmould, and is an insertion of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; the west doorway is of early Norman date with the billet on the hoodmould, a half-round and bold engaged roll to the angle of the outer order, and a plain inner order and jambs: the outer order has a chamfered abacus, and a massive shaft with a cushion capital. The north doorway is also Norman with a hoodmould chamfered both ways and the alternate billet on each face, the half-round on the face and a bold raised zigzag on the angle of the outer order, a plain inner order and jambs, a chamfered abacus and one shaft to the outer order with the early scroll ornament on the capital. The exterior of the apse has been much restored and the windows renewed.

A drive of two miles brings us to Aldeby, a cruciform church, once partly used as the church of a small priory attached to the great monastery at Norwich (Plate V). The old clerk here is quite a character, and only too delighted to show the church to the intelligent visitor. It is somewhat irregular in its design, and now consists of a central tower, nave, north transept, south chapel and chancel.

The church presents us with good specimens of every style of architecture. The east window of the chancel is early decorated, of three lights, with a hoodmould supported on jamb shafts. A very good piscina and two sedilia of the same date are to be seen in the south wall. The piscina has a trefoiled fringe, and the sedilia have cinquefoiled fringes within the arches. In the south chapel is the matrix of a brass, showing the outline of a figure in grave clothes. On the north of the chancel are two



ALDEBY.

WEST DOORWAY.



windows, the east of three lights of fifteenth-century date, the west of two lights of the decorated period, but renewed. The tower and tower arches are stated to have been rebuilt in 1633, but that on the east is lofty and probably the original decorated one. The north transept was built in the thirteenth century, and has lancet windows in the west and east walls. In the former is a semicircular recess, and in the latter a recess of late fourteenth-century work, within which was found a mural painting now covered with whitewash. The north window is early decorated, of three lights, while the windows of the south chapel have been renewed. There is a turret on the south-west side of the tower, with an entrance in the chapel. The nave is the earliest part of the church, and one Norman window remains on the north side : the other windows, one on the north and four on the south, are of the perpendicular period of varied design, and the west window is decorated, of three lights. The font is a fine one of fifteenth-century date, with octagonal bowl, having roses within quatrefoils on the main, and shields on the alternate faces, and eight engaged shafts attached to the angles of the stem. A handsome perpendicular porch stands on the south side, with shields on the spandrels above the outer doorway, charged with the implements of the Passion and the Trinity banner, and with a niche for an image above the arch. The inner south doorway is of earlier date, with hoodmould and delicate mouldings, and seems to belong to the transitional period and to date from about the year 1370. The belfry windows of the tower are of decorated character, and were probably preserved when the tower was rebuilt in 1633.

The most interesting feature in the church is the west doorway, a good specimen of Norman work, of about the middle of the twelfth century. It has a hoodmould and four recessed orders ; on the hoodmould in a hollow are a series of scallops or half-roundels ; the outer order has a roll on the angle, the next a recessed and raised zigzag, the next a roll, and the inner is plain. There is a chamfered abacus, and three engaged shafts to the outer orders. Of the outer capitals, that on the north side represents a quaint head with long ears and beaded

foliage coming from the mouth, that on the south has scroll ornament; while the two inner capitals on each side have leaves and foliage.

A drive of three miles brings us to Toft Monks, where the church, which is mainly Early English with some later insertions, stands in an isolated situation. It consists of a west tower, nave and chancel. The tower is an octagonal Early English structure with a later parapet; on the upper stage, a series of lancets, all of which are blind, with the exception of the centre lancet on each side, form continuous arcading round the tower; on the middle stage lancets and circular openings succeed one another alternately, and on the lower stage there is a single lancet at the west end; the tower arch is low Early English; further lancets are to be found on the north and south of the chancel, and a blocked doorway of the same date stands on the north side of the nave. The south porch is of fifteenth-century date, with a niche over the outer arch. The nave windows are also mainly of this period. The nave roof is high pitched, with some decorative floral colouring on some of the rafters. The chancel arch is perpendicular, and there is a fine canopied piscina on the south side of the chancel. The font is octagonal, of handsome perpendicular work, with the evangelistic emblems on the main, and angels holding shields on the alternate faces of the bowl, and lions attached to the stem (Plate VI).

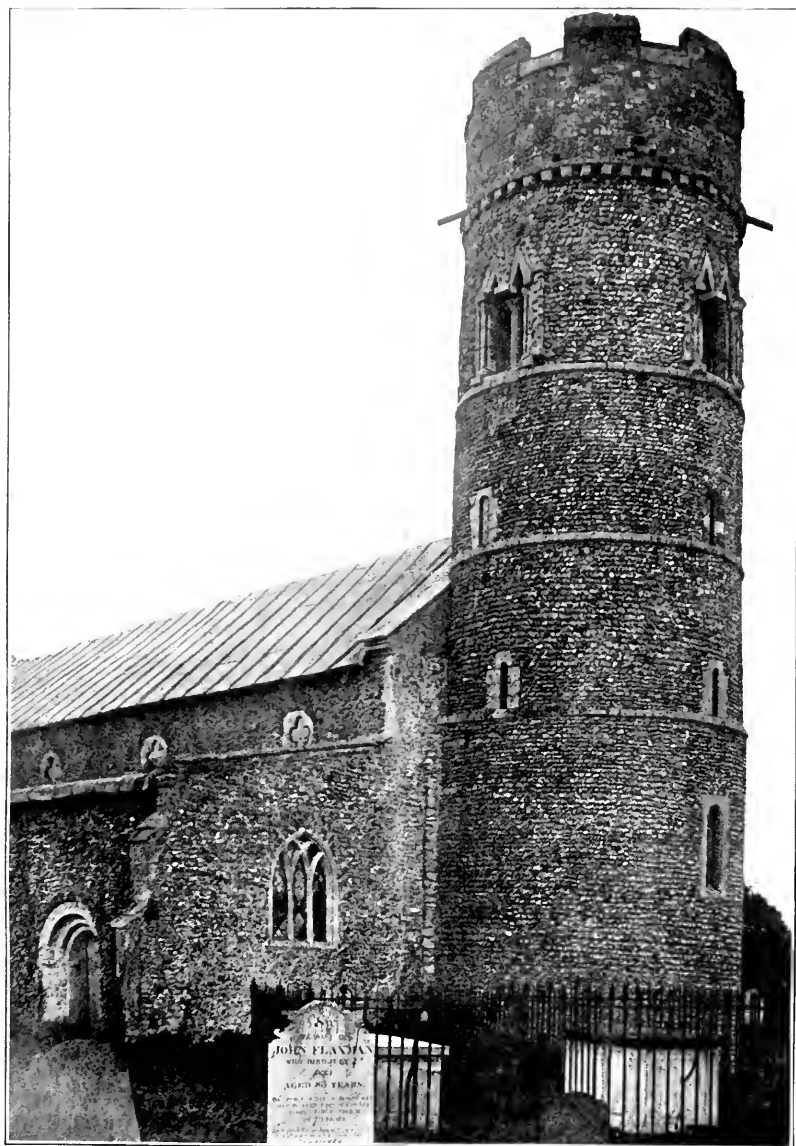
A drive of another two miles brings us to Haddiscoe, where the church possesses several features of special interest. It consists of a west tower (Plate VII), nave, north aisle, and chancel, and exhibits some Norman details of unusual excellence. The windows are of fourteenth and fifteenth-century date, and many have been renewed. There is a double piscina on the south of the chancel, with two basins and two canopied arches resting on central and side shafts. The chancel arch is decorated, but has been altered in later times; the arcade between the nave and aisle consists of five arches, of which the east central and west have three recessed orders carried down to the ground, probably of fourteenth century date, while the other two are plain pointed transitional Norman. Above are four small quatrefoil windows; on the east face of the



TOFT MONKS.

THE FONT.





HADDISCOE.

WEST TOWER.







HADDISCOE

SOUTH DOORWAY.

west pier are two trefoiled niches for lamps. The nave roof is high pitched and probably old. The font, which has been scraped, has an octagonal bowl with the evangelistic emblems and angels holding musical instruments alternately and lions attached to the stem, and is probably of fifteenth-century date. On the north wall of the nave facing the doorway, and between the two west arches, is the upper part of a large painting of St. Christopher; the head and shoulders of the saint and the top of his staff remain, and the Infant Saviour with cruciform nimbus, giving the benediction with the right hand and holding the orb in the left, is seated on the shoulder of the saint; the colour has mainly disappeared, but the eyes, etc., have been rather unfortunately touched up; the painting seems to be of the same character and date as that at Fritton, just across the river in Suffolk. The tower arch is very narrow, plain, round-headed Norman work with a chamfered hoodmould. There is a deeply splayed west window. The tower is a circular flint structure, and with the exception of the battlements and upper portion, which are of much later date, is Norman work, and divided by a stringcourse into four stages. In the upper part is a stringcourse with the billet ornament and a corbel table, probably of thirteenth-century date, and on each cardinal face is a double belfry light with two triangular-headed arches resting on a central baluster and side engaged shafts. A double row of the billet ornament runs as a hoodmould to each arch, carried down the outside of the shafts. The triangular arches appear to be of Saxon date, but the accessories are of the later Norman type; there are heads at the apex of each arch, which are also later than the arches themselves. On the two middle stages are small single early Norman windows, and a somewhat larger one restored externally on the west side of lower stage. The nave roof is low pitched, and retains its old lead covering. The south porch is of perpendicular date, with well moulded outer arch and niche for an image above: the inner doorway¹ (Plate VIII) has a hoodmould and two recessed orders: the former is flat with an outer course

¹ Figured by Cotman in his *Architectural Etchings*.

of the saw-tooth and an inner of the chevron ornament, while on the outer order are a series of half-rounds or scallops and an engaged roll at the angle, and on the inner order there are three courses of incised zigzag: the abacus is grooved and chamfered: the hoodmould is continued with a band of the ornamental star down the jambs to the ground, and one shaft on each side carries cushion capitals with some shallow ornament, and a cable band below. The iron-work of the door is old and very good, and above the doorway is a large semicircular-headed niche, with an outer flat course of the beaded star and other ornaments, continued with a series of roundels divided by foliage down the jambs. The arch has the roll resting on banded shafts, two bands on each side ornamented with foliage, and with similar bands forming the capitals and bases. Within the arch is a figure seated on a throne, bareheaded and very richly vested with stole, chasuble and dalmatic: both hands are upraised, and hold what appear to be short sceptres: this figure is about three feet high, and is no doubt intended to represent our Lord, as in other similar instances. There is a portion of a sculpture above His head much mutilated, which may have portrayed the *dextera Dei* emerging from a cloud or some other subject symbolising the divine presence. On the north of the north aisle is another fine Norman doorway with hoodmould and three recessed orders; the hoodmould has the alternate billet ornament, continued down the outer jambs to the ground, while on the outer order are the half-roundels or scallops, and a roll on the angle: on the middle order is an angle roll, and on the inner a series of diamonds or lozenges. Part of the original grooved and chamfered abacus remains, but the shafts have disappeared. On each side of the chancel near the west end are two circular openings, now blocked up, possibly intended for windows.

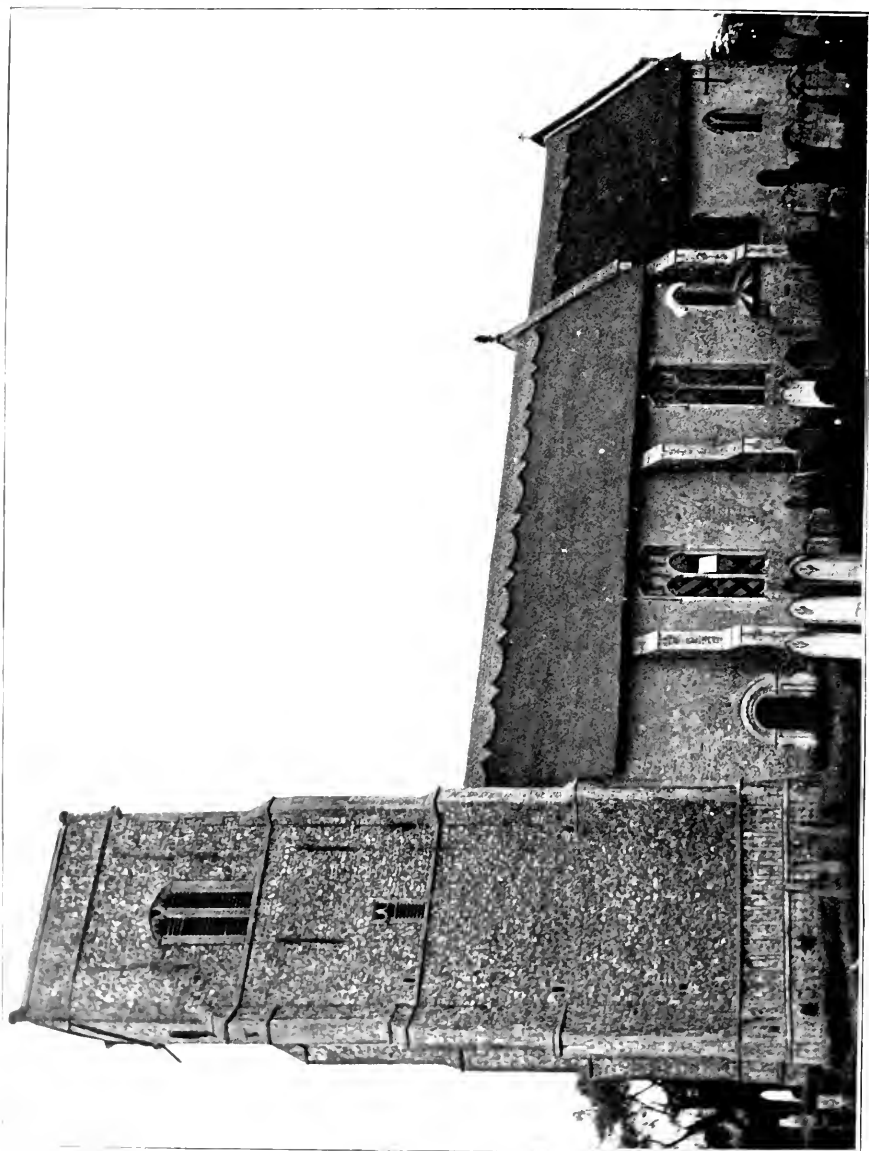
The motorist might find time to cross the Waveney from here and visit St. Olave's Priory, where some excavations have been recently carried out, Fritton church, with its semicircular apse, a considerable descent from the nave to the chancel, and its very interesting mural paintings of SS. Christopher and John the Baptist, and to pass thence to Herringfleet, with a fine circular Norman tower and





THORPE BY HADDISCOE.

VIEW FROM THE NORTH WEST.



THURLTON.

VIEW FROM THE SOUTH.

ornate doorway, but we who are travelling round at a more sober pace must be content to find our way direct to Thorpe St. Matthias or Thorpe-by-Haddiscoe, as it is usually called, a distance of somewhat over a mile (Plate IX).

Here is a simple church, consisting of west tower, nave, and chancel. The chancel is of brick, rebuilt in churchwarden times; the chancel arch has an outer roll moulding, perhaps transitional Norman, resting on perpendicular respond shafts; a single lancet, and a two-light window of same date are on the north of the nave, and two two-light perpendicular windows on the south; within the splay of the east window on the north are the steps to the rood-loft. The tower arch is low, plain, and has a semicircular head, with chamfered abacus, probably very early work. On the south side in west wall of the nave are two pointed arched recesses, probably of Early English date. The Norman font with massive square bowl on a central stem and four circular side shafts, bears four shallow semicircular headed arches on each face. The nave roof is thatched, and on the north is a Norman doorway with plain arch and jambs and chamfered abacus, while the south porch is perpendicular with well-moulded outer arch and two-light east and west windows, now blocked. The south doorway is Norman, with half round hoodmould, and a roll on the angle of the arch. The jambs have been altered. The west tower, built of flint, is the most interesting feature in the church. It is circular in form and built in four stages, with later battlements; the upper stage is Norman, with a double arched belfry light on each cardinal face having central banded and side shafts with roll mouldings. On the next stage are some masonry strips, and some small blocked early windows, and on the next some semicircular lights with the flat roll on the arch. It is probable that the lower part of the tower is of pre-Norman date.

Another mile will bring us to Thurlton church, which, next to Beccles, is the largest in our excursion (Plate X). It consists of a west tower, nave and chancel, and, like the other churches in the district, is built entirely of flint, with a covering of roughcast, some of which remains on the walls of the nave and chancel. The east window of

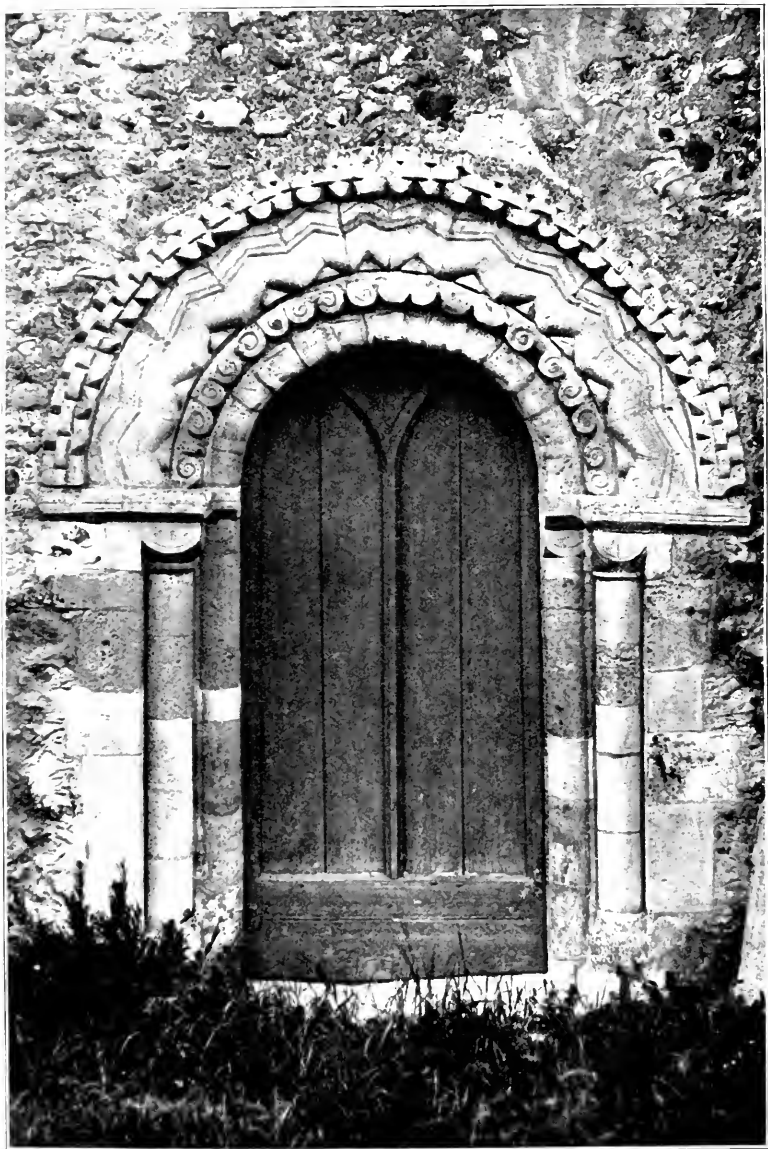
the chancel is perpendicular, of three lights; there is a two-light decorated window on south; and on the south and on the north there is a perpendicular window of two lights. The chancel arch is also of this period, indeed the church appears to have been entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century. the south doorway, a relic of the former Norman church, having fortunately been preserved. The rood screen is a very beautiful specimen of fifteenth-century work, the carving of the canopies and other decorative portions being excellent. The panels and several mouldings retain the colour and gilding with which they were originally enriched, though some of the decoration has been renewed; some traces of colouring remain on the jambs of the chancel arch. The nave windows are all of perpendicular character, one on the south being a high side window. The tower arch is fine and lofty, and there is a three-light west window. The font, with octagonal bowl, having shields on the main, and Tudor roses on the alternate faces, with angels on the cornice below and lions on the stem, is no doubt of late fifteenth-century date. On the north wall is a very large representation of St. Christopher: the groundwork of the picture seems to have been in red, and the whole is surrounded by a border of roses: the saint, as usual, is moving from west to east, and grasps the tree, which he uses as a staff, plunged into the water in his left hand, while his right is raised, probably in the act of protesting against the weight of his burden: he has a beard, and wears a turban and flowing garment, his left arm being bare to the elbow, and his legs to the knees: his feet are hidden in the water, in which six quaint fishes are disporting themselves. The Infant Christ is seated behind his head with turban, flowing hair, and a garment with a cross on the breast. He is giving the benediction with the right hand, and holding the orb, on which is the cross and banner, in His left. This is a very fine and large representation of this familiar subject, but unfortunately the colouring has almost perished. On the opposite south wall was found the lower part of a painting of St. George and the Dragon, which has been whitewashed over: but the vicar promises to bring it to light again.



THURLTON.

NORTH DOORWAY.





THURLTON.

SOUTH DOORWAY.

The north doorway (Plate XI) within a porch is very fine fifteenth-century work, with square label above. On the label and hoodmould are numerous small roses, and in a hollow in the arch and down the jambs a series of crowns much mutilated. At the apex of the arch is a sculpture of the Blessed Trinity, with the Almighty seated and holding a small figure of Christ on the Cross between His knees. The label and hoodmould terminate on an angel holding a scroll on each side, and in the spandril space on either side is a large angel swinging a censer. The whole composition has been richly coloured, and the door, with very elegant panelling, is of the same date. The porch is of flint, with east and west windows, the outer arch with square label and shields in the spandrils, and canopied niche with pedestal for an image above. The tower, of carefully dressed flints, is fine and lofty, in three stages, with panelled upper cornice, two-light belfry windows, and small windows in the middle stage, receding angle buttresses, and fine flint and ashlar panelling round the base, all of the fifteenth-century period. The nave and chancel roofs are thatched. The south doorway¹ (Plate XII) is a relic of the old Norman church, and a very fine example of that style. It has a hoodmould and three recessed orders: on the former are two rows of the out-turned scallops or cheese moulding and a row of ornamented nail heads or cones on the chamfer, while on the outer order is a band of small and bold raised zigzag, on the next a series of beaded scrolls or erozier heads, on the inner, the double cone with bands at intervals on the face, and zigzag on the soffit. There is a chamfered abacus with the quarter round moulding on the main portion, one shaft to the two outer, and engaged shafts to the inner order, all with cushion capitals.

There is an excrescence for the rood-loft staircase on south side east end of nave, and a plain doorway on the south of the chancel.

A journey of about a mile will bring us to Norton-sub-Course, where we find a very interesting church of the early part of the fourteenth century, consisting of a west tower, nave and chancel. The tower is circular and stands to the north of the centre of the

¹ Figured by Cotman in his *Architectural Etchings*.

nave. The upper windows are new, but some small lancets in the lower stages show it to be a relic of a church existing at least as early as the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The north doorway, which is blocked, is a good specimen of late decorated work, with a hoodmould and various mouldings continued without imposts to the ground. The south doorway is very similar with hoodmould on heads, three recessed orders with the quarter round and other mouldings all continued without imposts down the jambs to the ground. There is also a good doorway of the same date on the south of the chancel. A stringcourse runs along the exterior of the chancel walls. The windows are all excellent decorated work, the east being especially fine, of five lights with four tiers of quatrefoils in the head. The other windows are all of two lights, somewhat varied in their design, but all elegant examples of this style; externally they have labels or hoodmoulds. Internally the chancel windows have containing arches supported on slender jamb shafts. There is no chancel arch, but the division between the nave and chancel is marked by a tie beam. The roofs are underdrawn. On the south of the chancel is a very beautiful piscina and three sedilia, all of the decorated period¹ (Plate XIII).

The former has two basins under two pointed arches with cinquefoiled fringe, resting on central and side shafts and quatrefoil above, all enclosed in an ogee headed hoodmould, with rich finial and head terminations, while the latter are also very beautiful, the eastern seat being on a higher level than the other two. They have flat segmental headed arches with cinquefoiled fringe, and continuous hoodmould with ogee head and finial above each sedile on head terminations. They are supported on two slender shafts, and engaged shafts on east and west, all with well moulded capitals. On the north side is a founders' tomb or Easter sepulchre with a flat arch.

There are considerable remains of old glass; in the south chancel window is a seraph with his feet on a wheel and several shields, one having gules two lions

¹ Figured by Cotman in his *Architectural Etchings*.



PISCINA AND SEDILIA.

NORTON-SUB-COURSE.



passant guardant or ; another, azure three mitres or, for the diocese of Norwich ; another gules, a chevron or, between three leopards' heads argent, impaling sable, a chevron ermine between three bulls' heads argent. The upper and lower doorway of the rood-loft staircase remain in the north wall, while in the north wall of the nave are three niches, probably for images, and there is another on the east splay of a window on the south side ; and a small canopied piscina marks the site of an altar on the south side near the east end of the nave. The interior arches of the north and south doorways are segmental headed.

The font is a relic of the thirteenth century church, having an octagonal bowl of Purbeck marble with two arches on each face and a plain stem of white stone. The tower arch is low with chamfered abacus, and between it and the nave there is a blocked pointed arch.

Another mile and a half on our round brings us to Heckingham, where the church has a west tower, nave, north aisle and apsidal chancel. It is a difficult matter to obtain the key of this church, but there is nothing of interest in the interior, which has been smothered with whitewash. The apse has been much altered, the east and main north and south windows having been renewed. There is a lancet in north-east and south-east face on either side of the east window. The chancel arch on semi-octagonal responds is decorated. The lower rood-loft doorway remains on the north side at the east end of the nave. Three massive plain arches of nondescript character stand between the nave and the aisle, which latter has been much altered and repaired in brick. There is a two-light decorated window at the east end and another one on the north side. The font has a massive square bowl supported on shafts with foliated capitals, and is probably Norman. The tower has been altered, the lower part is round, the upper octagonal with lancet lights. Most of the other windows are of brick, but the west of lower stage is a single-light perpendicular one.

On the north of the north aisle is a portion of a blocked semicircular headed Norman doorway with bold raised zigzag in the arch, chamfered abacus and plain jambs ; on the west side is the abacus with quarter-

round moulding, and shaft with scalloped and foliated capital, to a former outer order. The nave is thatched, as is the south porch, which is of brick, of late fifteenth-century date, with outer arch of brick and shields above and blocked east and west windows. The roof is of the same date. The south doorway within the porch is a grand example of Norman work.¹ (Plates XIV and XV.) It has a hoodmould and four recessed orders. On the hoodmould is a series of twenty-six raised roundels, each with eight lines or spokes radiating from the centre, suggesting a wheel with a small circular bead between each spoke. They are connected by a band, but are irregularly arranged and vary in size. To the outer order is a band of raised zigzag, a hollow and another course of bold raised zigzag; to the next a series of square labels, very irregular in size and pierced with numerous small holes on the chamfered face of the arch; on the next two intersecting lines with bands at intervals form a series of saltires within square panels; then comes a good example of the double cone, the cones being separated by single, double, and in one instance triple, bands; then another band of the saltire on the face and the beaded ornamental star on the soffit of the arch moulding; on the inner order is a bold raised zigzag with nail-heads within the chevrons. There is a grooved and chamfered abacus with the indented pattern between the groove and the chamfered portion. Four engaged shafts stand on each side with large capitals, cushion shaped, and with scroll, leaves and other ornaments, some with a cable band below. The bases are well moulded and rest on a sort of subsidiary shafts about a foot from the ground level. They have some ornamentation, the cable, chevron, indented, etc. The hoodmould is continued down the outer jambs with a double row of the cheese moulding on each side, while on the jamb between the two middle shafts on each side are carved a series of sunk ovals with incised lines to give them the appearance of leaves. The sculpture is no doubt rude, but the effect is fine, and exemplifies the labour bestowed on the doorways in the twelfth century, even in so small and remote a parish as this must

¹ There is an excellent illustration in Cotman's *Architectural Etchings*.



HECKINGHAM,

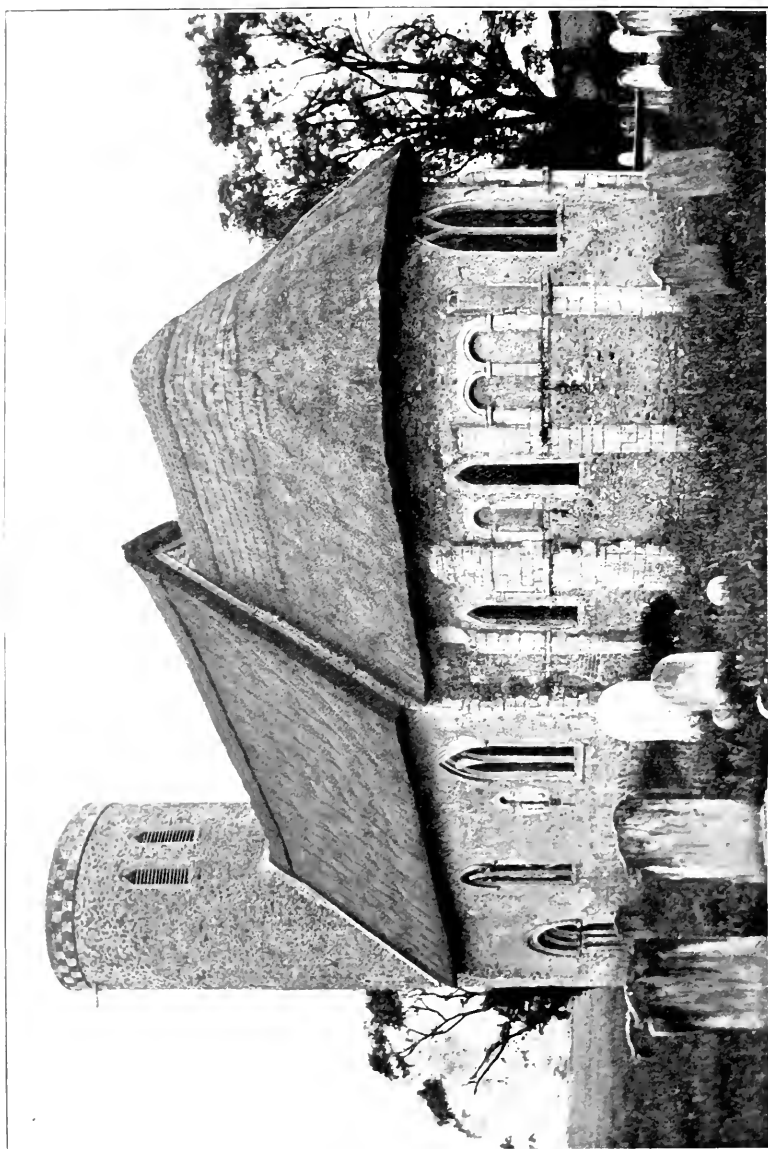
SOUTH DOORWAY.





HECKINGHAM.

DETAILS OF SOUTH DOORWAY.



HALES.

VIEW FROM THE SOUTH EAST.



HALES.

SOUTH DOORWAY.

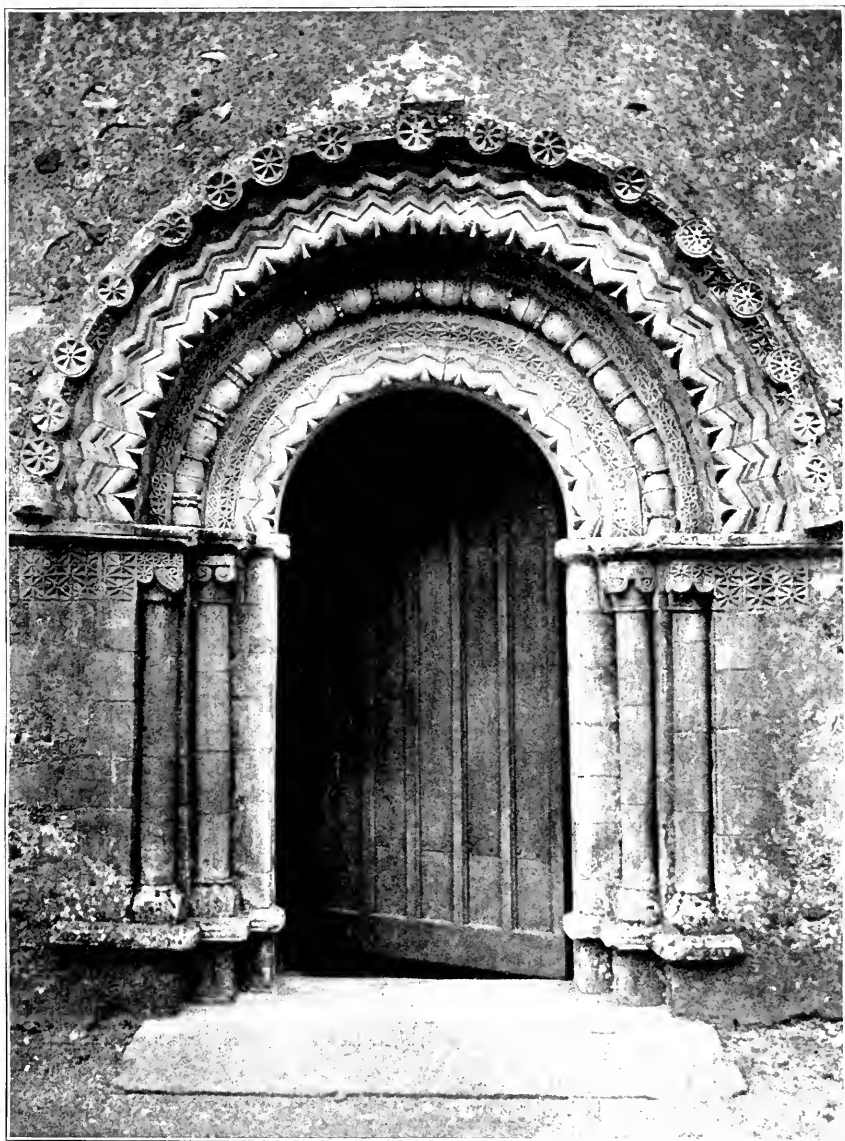
always have been. On the south of the nave is a three-light perpendicular window containing some old glass and a single Early English lancet. The eastern apse has been much altered, but the flat buttresses remain.

Resisting the temptation of continuing westward to Chedgrave, where there are fine Norman doorways, and to Loddon, with many interesting features in the church, we now turn southwards, and in two miles arrive at Hales (Plate XVI), where again great difficulty and delay will be experienced in obtaining the key; but fortunately the interesting features are on the exterior.

The church consists of a west tower, nave, chancel and apse, and is entirely of the Norman period with later insertions. The apse is semicircular and very interesting, but unfortunately a two-light window has been inserted in the east wall, and single lancets on the north and south of the apse and chancel. Round the two latter are several flat buttresses, and across these and round the walls is carried a stringcourse with the star ornament carved on it. This forms a base moulding to a series of blind arches, some in pairs and some single, semicircular headed, with half-rounds on the angle of the arch, chamfered abacus and plain jambs. One pair on the north side has numerous circular and semicircular discs on the flat face of the arch, while on the south of the nave is a similar arch, perhaps originally a window, but now closed up. The roofs of the apse, chancel and nave are thatched. On the south side of the latter are inserted two two-light windows, rather modern looking, in the decorated style, and on the north of the nave is a cinquefoiled lancet, and a two-light nondescript decorated window. The tower is circular, with numerous lancet openings, one on the west having a semicircular head. In addition to the apse the two noble doorways make this church especially worthy of a visit¹: that on the south side (Plate XVII) is very fine with hoodmould and four recessed orders, which do not correspond with the shafts. On the face and chamfer of the hoodmould we find a series of lozenges formed by two intersecting zigzag lines, with fir cones and pellets within the outer chevrons;

¹ Both are illustrated in Cotman's *Architectural Etchings*.

on the outer order is a hollow and bold roll on the angle, on the next recessed and raised zigzag, and a nail-head within each chevron on the lower side ; on the next is a small zigzag band and a series of pairs of square labels or billets with beading on them, and on the inner order a hollow and angle roll. There are a grooved and chamfered abacus, and two massive shafts, with a smaller engaged shaft, between and on either side of them, with cushion capitals, and several votive crosses on the shafts. A band of the star ornament is carried down the inner jamb on each side, and the same moulding appears on and below the bases, which terminate about one foot from the ground on blocks of masonry with engaged shafts at the angles. The north doorway is even finer (Plate XVIII), and similar in its details to the noble example at Heckingham, which we have just described. It has a hoodmould and four deeply recessed orders, on the former of which we find a series of seventeen raised roundels, most of them having the eight spokes radiating from the centre, as at Heckingham, but only three have the beading between the spokes, while a few have an eight-rayed star instead of the wheel. They are joined by a band ornamented with the zigzag, and on the chamfered portion of the hoodmould are a series of eight-rayed stars within square panels. On the outer order is a course of raised and recessed zigzag with bold raised zigzag with the nail-heads within the chevrons at the angle. On the next course are a series of eight-rayed stars on the face of the order, and bold double cones divided by single beaded, and in three instances by double beaded, bands on the angle. On the next order are a band of small triple zigzag on the face, and an eight-rayed star on the chamfer, and on the inner order recessed and bold raised zigzag with the nail-heads within the chevrons, and a grooved and chamfered abacus with a bit of bunch foliage above the capitals. There are two bold jamb shafts on each side to the middle orders with scalloped bases. The capitals are elaborately carved with bunch foliage, the star, cable, etc., the outer on the east being the most elaborate. On the jambs below the hoodmould and outer order are several varieties of the star ornament, but the inner jambs are plain. The bases rest on blocks of masonry with engaged shafts at the angles,



HALES.

NORTH DOORWAY.



KIRBY CANE.

SOUTH DOORWAY.

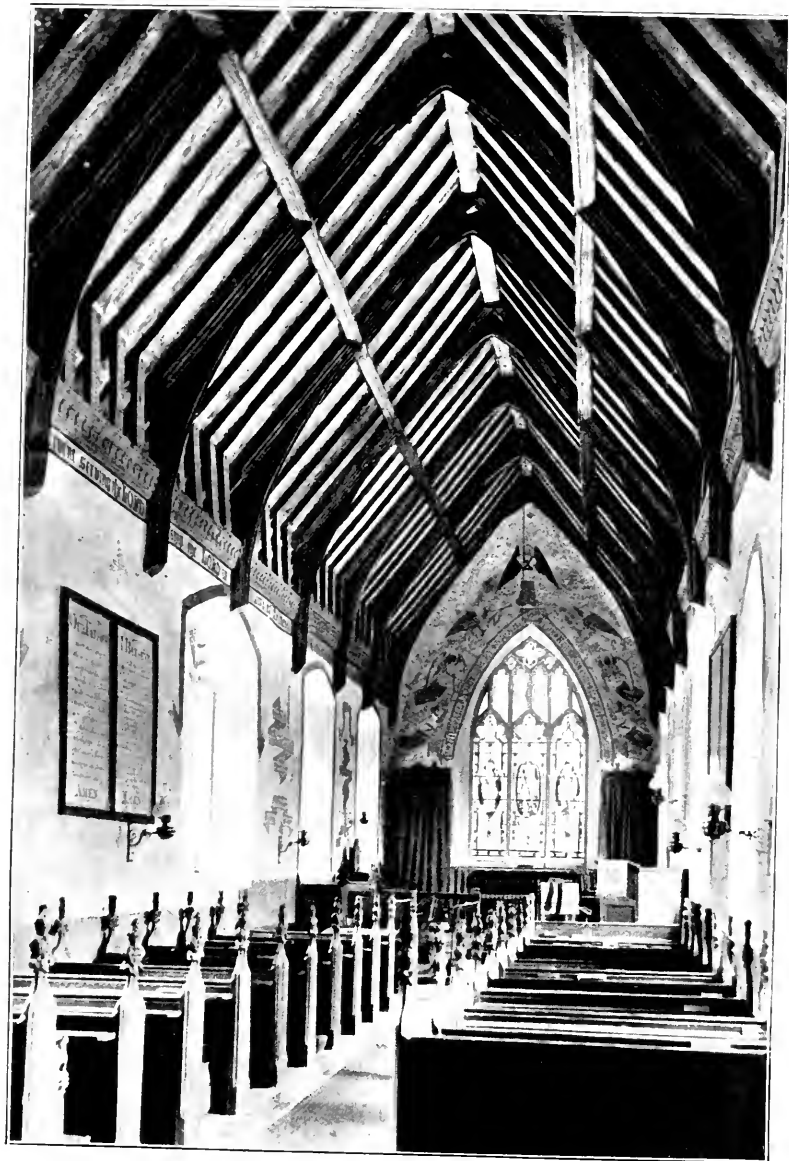
as in the south doorway, and at Heckingham. As I was unable to enter the church, I shall not attempt to describe the interior, but there does not appear to be much of interest; the arch between the nave and chancel is clearly an insertion of the decorated period, and the walls are bountifully overlaid with whitewash, which appears to be in special favour in this district.

A journey of a little over two miles will bring us to Kirby Cane, where the church stands close to the old Hall. It consists of a west tower, nave, north aisle, chancel, and north chapel. The interior walls have been recently embellished with a new coat of whitewash, and this delight of the average churchwarden has here been applied to a ridiculous extent. The east window is of three lights, rather poor decorated work. On the south are two two-light windows of the same type, and on a higher level two small semicircular-headed lights of rather uncertain date. On the north of the chancel are two arches, but that on the east is blocked by a large table tomb, which has received such a dose of whitewash as to obliterate most of its details. The chancel arch is probably of decorated date, but has received the same liberal treatment. On the south of the nave at the east end is a two-light decorated window, and within the east splay are the steps to the rood-loft, with an upper doorway opening to the nave. Farther west is a two-light perpendicular window with segmental head. The pulpit is Jacobean. Three arches on massive octagonal columns open to the north aisle. Here on the north is a double-light and single lancet, the east window being blocked, and the west debased. The tower arch is plain, semicircular-headed, the west window being of two lights of the decorated period. The font is of fifteenth-century date, with octagonal bowl, having a head within an eight-foil on the east, west, and north sides, and shields on the alternate faces. Heads and roses are carved below the bowl, and shafts are attached to the stem. The south doorway within a porch is good Norman work, of a different type to those at Hales and Heckingham, and probably of later date¹ (Plate XIX). The interior arch

¹ Illustrated in Cotman's *Architectural Etchings*.

has a roll moulding to the arch and down the jambs, and is more lofty than the exterior one. This has a hoodmould and two recessed orders. On the hoodmould we find a series of sixteen roses or sunflowers, with large ball-shaped centre on the chamfer, and a monster head at the apex. On the outer order is a course of beaded and raised zigzag, with the points set on an engaged angle roll. On the inner order is a course of bold out-turned zigzag, with a small zigzag band on each side continued round the arch and down the jambs to the ground. There is a grooved and chamfered abacus to the hoodmould and outer order, and one shaft on each side supporting the latter, the west ornamented with the cable, the east with the chevron moulding. On each capital is a quaint bearded head. The bases rest on blocks of masonry, as at Hales. The south door is ancient. The porch, with blocked east and west windows, is perpendicular, and has been beautified with bluewash. The outer arch is perpendicular, with a niche above. On the south of the chancel is a blocked doorway of fourteenth-century date. The tower, of rude flints, is circular, with late battlements and single belfry windows, and with some masonry strips to the lower part. There is a blocked decorated doorway on north of north aisle, with a niche of the same date above it.

A short mile will bring us to Stockton, where the spacious church consists of a west tower and spire, nave and chancel (Plate XX). The east window is perpendicular, of three lights, and there are two two-light windows of the same date on either side of the chancel, in which are some remains of contemporary glass (Plate XXI). On the north is a hand holding a pedestal and orb. On the south the Blessed Virgin, crowned, and holding the Infant Saviour, and a figure in ermine, holding a circular object in the right hand: the head is gone. There are some borders and several diamond quarries. No chancel arch exists, but some portions of the old screen remain incorporated with the choir stalls. In the nave are two three-light perpendicular windows on the north, and a similar three-light, two two-light decorated windows, and a single lancet on south. There are considerable remains of old glass. In the east window on north are two shields, one,



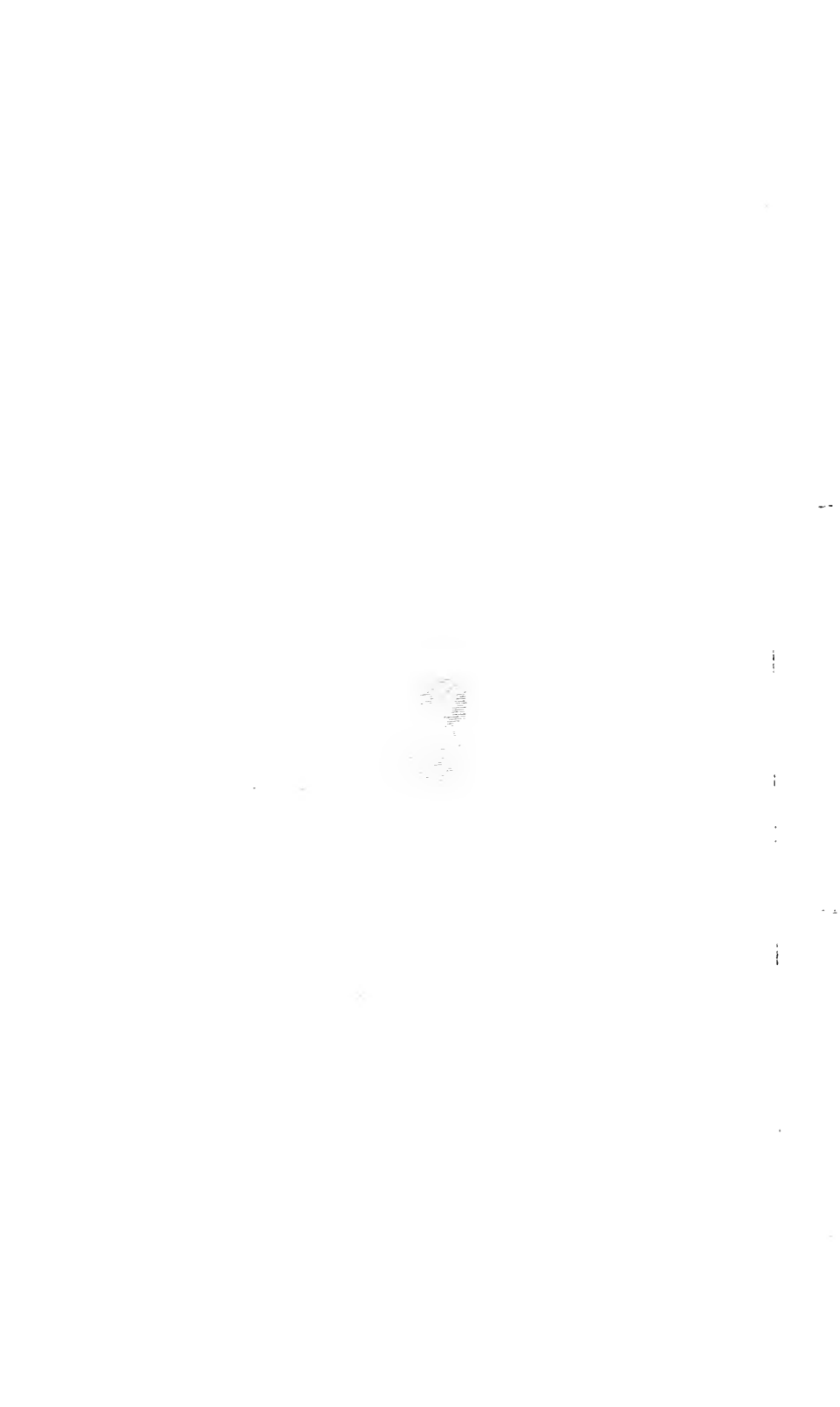
STOCKTON.

INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.



STOCKTON.

ANCIENT GLASS.



gules a cross patee argent, the other, or on a cross sable, five scallop shells argent for Bigod. In the south-east is the cross of St. George, twice, the head of an archangel, and various borders. On either splay of the west window on the north is an early inscription within a canopied border. Each begins with the words "Pray for the good estate and welfare," and that on west ends thus, "which made this christoffe," showing that there was formerly a painting of St. Christopher on the wall close by. The inscriptions seem to be of fifteenth-century date. The font is curious, with a large octagonal bowl, having two trefoiled niches on each main face, and an emblem of the Evangelists on the alternate face. The stem is slender, and only a part of the original. The tower arch is pointed, massive, and plain. The nave and chancel roofs are very fine, high pitched, with elaborate wall plate, etc. The terminations, probably angels, to the main beams have all been cut away. There are some fine poppyheads to the nave benches. The west tower is circular, covered with stucco, and with lancets in the upper stage. The spire of lead is modern. The north doorway within the present vestry is plain decorated. The south doorway within a porch is late decorated with hoodmould and several mouldings on the arch carried down the jambs.

A run of about three miles will bring us back to Beccles, but, should the traveller be voracious, he can continue his journey to Bungay, stopping *en route* at Mettingham. Here is an interesting church with some mural painting, a good font, a fine Norman north doorway, of the usual eastern counties type, and with a curious representation of the Crucifixion, scratched on the east jamb, and three crosses and perhaps a female figure on the west. A little off the road is Mettingham Castle, with a fine gatehouse. At Bungay are the remains of the Norman castle of the Bigods, two churches, St. Mary's and Trinity, the latter with undoubted Saxon work in the tower, and a very interesting old house, date *circa* 1500, with carvings under the oriel windows, representing David killing the bear and his victory over Goliath, and Samson killing the lion, and Dalilah cutting off his hair. There are other sculptures, all of the same character as those on an old house at Halesworth.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF ROME. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO.
2 Vols. Translated by A. E. ZIMMERN, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New
College. 9 x 5½. 228 + 389 pp. Heinemann, 17s. net.

In the general revival of serious study among Italian scholars during the last decades, a great deal of excellent work has been done in the field of classical archaeology. The recent excavations at Rome have been illustrated with singular insight and skill; the graveyards of Bologna have been explored with diligence, and a flood of light has been thrown upon the problems of the Italic civilizations before the supremacy of Rome. Roman epigraphy and numismatics have also received a due share of attention, and so has Roman law. The one field which Italian scholars have failed to explore on the same scale and with the same precision as it has been explored elsewhere, has been that of the history of the Roman polity itself and of the sources and *fontes* in which the story is contained.

In the book before us we have the one serious effort made by an Italian to fill this gap. It deals with the history of Rome in its most dramatic century: when almost every year meant a fresh conquest of some new province and a new and magnificent triumph for the Roman arms, and when the whole method of government was revolutionized and the brilliant oligarchy, which it has been the fashion to call a Republic, was converted into a largely democratic organization disguised under the name of an Empire.

In this admirable work the story is told with vigour and clearness, and a vast mass of illustrative matter, drawn from fresh knowledge which has been accumulated during the last quarter of a century in many special memoirs, is incorporated in the text. Especially is the economical and social side of the life of this unique community analyzed with freshness and perspicuity, and the lesson deduced that the result was due to a great many more causes than the personal initiative of a few leaders. What must strike one in the history, when compared and contrasted with such accounts as those of Mommsen and Ihne, is in the first place the generous quotation of authorities compared with the repetition of *obiter dicta* which is so trying to the readers of the German historians, and secondly, the increased sense one derives of the marvellously distributed capacity for public affairs possessed by the Roman race.

Whatever drain was caused by war, sickness, or disaster upon the best blood in the country, there never was a stagnation in the supply of capable men from one class or another who were competent to carry out a work which was largely experimental and had no precedents to point the way.

The first five chapters of the book are introductory, and form a masterpiece of condensed narrative in which a marvellous picture is pieced together of the primitive condition of the confederation of

farmers which grew so quickly into a well-ordered State. A sentence from this part of the book (which, by the way, is translated with singular felicity of language) will best point the moral of what I am saying. The author is describing the primitive Roman: "The Roman was sober and self-restrained in all his habits and simple in all his ideas and customs. He had a deep and loving knowledge of the small world in which he lived and a quiet and imperturbable intensity of purpose. He was honest, loyal, persevering and displayed that curious absence of excitability so characteristic of a man who has no vices, who does not waste his strength in self-indulgence, and has but a limited stock of knowledge. In such a world ideas made but slow progress; novelties, unless they came in the guise of religion, found difficult entry; genius, like madness or crime, or any other unrecognized eccentricity, was entirely suppressed; custom, experience and superstition secured the supremest forms of wisdom. Law and religion, both strictly formal, were held in the highest honour, etc., etc."

Let me quote another and a longer paragraph as a test of our author's delineation of character. It is Cicero of whom he is speaking: "Like all typical men of letters, he was better able to sway the imagination and emotions of masses of men than to dominate the will of single individuals. When he stood up to speak before a large popular audience the power which he seemed to wield was extraordinary. The marvellous hold which he had thus obtained over the minds of his hearers in an age when no one was untouched by the flame of personal ambition, had kindled in him a vague passion to become the Demosthenes of the great Italian democracy. Like many another soldier and man of letters before and since, he began to delude himself with the notion that he was destined to become a great administrator. Yet all the time, for each of the separate individuals out of whom the huge crowds which he held spell-bound with his eloquence were composed, Cicero was little more than a weak and contemptible little figure in the rough arena of politics; not all his fine moral qualities or professions of independence could shield him against the acts of intrigue and intimidation . . . there were qualities in his nature which forbade him to be powerful. He was of a morbidly nervous and susceptible disposition, tormented by the pinpricks of an almost feminine vanity, and by a sensibility that was alive to every petty annoyance.

"After moments of exaltation, in which he felt himself to be a leader of men, and made display of his self-confidence in mordant criticism and the boldest and most complacent professions of ambition, he would periodically collapse, as though there were two natures fighting in his bosom, into fits of the most abject dejection, suspecting a possible enemy in every one around him, and lavishing the most pitiful and humiliating thanks on the first mediocrity who happened to make some band observation in his favour. Above all, he was never able to free himself from a certain attitude of snobbishness towards the upper classes. He was very greedy of notoriety. He was proud of being known to every one and of seeing the poorer people turn round to look at him in the streets. He was afraid lest a word should be breathed against him in the greatest house in Rome, and longed ardently, and for a long time hopelessly, for an entrée into the house of any aristocrat of authentic lineage and untarnished record. He was radiant with satisfaction at

the many friendships which his oratorical renown had brought him among the rich capitalists, many of whom were exempt from all traditions of exclusiveness, and particularly if they were men of culture like Atticus, gladly welcomed to their society a man who had risen from the ranks by his pen. In a word, even after he had become a great figure in history, Cicero remained in many respects what he had been from the beginning, a small bourgeois from a country town, whose vanity fell an easy prey to the compliments of the plutocracy and the nobility."

This is excellent portraiture, and it may be matched in the case of other figures on his canvas. It does not mean that the political judgments of the author are always those which one would approve. They are marked too frequently by a modern measure of the possibilities of an ancient career. He minimises, as most historians have done, the capacity of Pompey, he keeps in the shade the avarice and sordid vices of Lucullus, and much exaggerates the brilliance of his campaigns against the King of Pontus. While dealing out ample praise to Caesar's unmatched career, he denies him the quality of a statesman, apparently overlooking the Roman Statute Book which is the best measure of his capacity in this field. Where else in antiquity was so much wisdom included in such a space as in the *Leges Juliae*? Did not he again really mark out the lines on which the Roman Principate ruled the world for many centuries afterwards?

It is a pity that in dealing with a period of history, where political insight is such a necessary gift, that the historians who have dealt with this particular drama should not be quoted: I mean Arnold, and especially Long, in his admirably-balanced and rare work on the history of the later Republic. Nor do the names of Schwegler and of Ihne occur as they ought in a survey like the present. The work, however, remains a real gain to us all and a worthy survey of a dazzling historical period. It ought to see another edition, when perhaps some hasty statements which are mere flies in a pot of ointment might be corrected. One or two examples will suffice. They abound thus: we are told in Vol. I, p. 65, that the marriage of Marius with the daughter of a certain Cains Julius Caesar led to his adoption into the patrician home of the Julii. This is surely quite an unfounded suggestion; so is the statement on page 78 that Aurelia, the mother of Caesar, was the sister of Marius. She was no relation of his, and belonged to an entirely different stock. On page 111 Cinna is called Caesar's brother-in-law; he was, of course, his father-in-law, as is in fact stated on page 101. On page 101 it is stated that Julius Caesar's father died of apoplexy, for which there is no authority. We are merely told by Pliny that he died suddenly. On page 112 we read that Caesar belonged to an ancient family which had for the last six generations obtained no higher office than the praetorship." This is quite incorrect. A Caesar was Consul several times in the first half of the first century B.C. I might thus go with these proofs of carelessness, but will conclude with an irritating mistake of another kind on page 9. The first note begins thus, "cf. *Cato de Re Rustica*, descri who bes the estates of a rich noble." What the meaning of this may be it is difficult to say.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Parts 1 to 3. Vol. I. To be completed in five volumes. Edited by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. 9½ × 6¾. xliii + 352 pp. Bell. 18s. net.

We have already had occasion to notice the appearance of Volume III of the present series, which deals exclusively with Wales. Volume I of the Itinerary in England is now before us. Until the present work, no reprint of Leland's topographical notes, so valuable to the local antiquary, has appeared since the eighteenth century edition of Thomas Hearne. Mr. Lawrence Gomme projected this publication several years ago, his idea being to rearrange the text and to insert in their proper places Leland's marginal additions which Hearne had printed as they stood; but Mr. Gomme was obliged to renounce his task at an early stage, and the work has devolved upon his very capable collaborator, Miss Toulmin Smith.

Leland's voluminous manuscript was but a collection of notes recording what he saw and what he read in the older chroniclers, meant to serve as material for the great work which he projected, but did not live to write. Much sought after and prized for its novelty of treatment, after the death of its author in 1552, this precursor of the modern guide-book passed through many hands: copies were taken and whole volumes disappeared. An early transcript was made by Stow in 1576, which happily supplies three lost books: William Burton followed in 1628: Dugdale had a copy made, and Brown Willis reproduced part of the Itinerary in 1704: finally Thomas Hearne, Bodley's painstaking librarian, copied out all the material he could find and first introduced the complete work to the general public in 1710, a third edition being issued in 1768-1770.

Though Hearne performed the task he had set himself in a very efficient manner, the present edition improves upon it, by inserting the additional notes in their obvious context, by a careful collation of all the texts and manuscripts, and by the identification of place-names. Some extraneous matter, which appeared in Hearne's edition, has been discarded, and a good deal of genealogical matter, which interferes with the course of the Itinerary, has been relegated to appendices. Voluminous references and concise and useful notes, a table of counties and indices of persons and places, all help to make it a good and scholarly reference book, put forward in most attractive form and admirably printed. Last, but not least, as in the Welsh volume, there are two wholly excellent maps which shew very clearly the itinerant character of Leland's studies and also indicate in some measure his habit of "centralizing" in some of the most favoured spots, from which smaller journeys radiate. Since diagrammatic representation of topography is of such assistance to both scientific treatment and intelligent appreciation, we cannot but regret that so many books dealing with archaeology and kindred subjects should be published without maps.

PENN'S COUNTRY, AND OTHER BUCKINGHAMSHIRE SKETCHES
By E. S. ROSCOE. 8 × 5½. 115 pp. Elliot Stock. 4s. 6d.

The book contains pleasant and scholarly historical sketches of Buckinghamshire and Buckinghamshire worthies. Mr. Roscoe, in this volume, restricts himself to a few spots, and each is associated with

some great man. At Chequers Court, where the Historical Manuscripts Commission has recently been busy, Frances, daughter of the Lord Protector, passed her life. Beaconsfield is associated with two men who stand in strong contrast to one another. Waller, the poet, graceful and superficial, lived continuously, except during the years of his banishment, on his ancestral estate. Burke, with lofty ideals and strong political convictions, dropped into this quiet village and bought a mansion for which he could not pay, and which has since disappeared. In the disused Quaker burial-ground of Jordans lie the bodies of William Penn and Isaac Pennington, his father-in-law. Milton sought to escape the pestilence in London, and spent a twelvemonth in Chalfont St. Giles. Hampden was the birthplace of the patriot who died at Chalgrove. At Bradenham lived Isaac Disraeli, and Hughenden was the pride of his greater son.

Thus Mr. Roscoe deals pleasantly with places and local history from a purely personal point of view: his book represents the cult of the *genius loci*.

DUBLIN. An Historical and Topographical account of the City. By S. A. OSSORY FITZPATRICK. Illustrated by W. CURTIS GREEN. (Ancient Cities Series.) 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5. xv + 360 pp. Methuen. 4s. 6d. net.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has produced a very interesting book, which combines with success the advantages of sound work and a handy guide. He has managed to compress into the small compass, which members of such a series must necessarily possess, a large amount of information without making his book unduly compendious. He has passed in rapid review the leading events associated with the history of Ireland's capital from the occupation of the Danes to the present day. Its career has been dark and chequered: it has been the scene of baffled revolution and intrigue from the time when the city espoused the cause of Lambert Simnel against Henry VII to Robert Emmett's unhappy rising of 1803.

Mr. Fitzpatrick also gives us a condensed, but interesting account, of the personal and social life of the city, especially during the eighteenth century.

To the archaeological side of the subject is given a large share of attention, and considerable space is devoted to the two cathedrals of Christchurch and St. Patrick's. In dealing with the architectural features of Dublin, Mr. Fitzpatrick's elaborate and careful descriptions have had the advantage of revision at the hands of Sir Thomas Drew.

There is an itinerary of the city, and the letterpress is accompanied by a number of very good illustrations in pen and ink.

The following archaeological publications have been received by the Institute:—

Archæologia Cambrensis, Vol. VII, Parts 2 and 3. 1907.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. XXXVII, Part 1. March, 1907.

Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 1906–1907. Vol. LI, Part 2.

- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Vol. III, Nos. 3 and 4. 1907.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Session MDCCCV-VI. Vol. XL. 1906.
- Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. Vol. XXIX, Parts 3 and 4.
- Transactions of East Herts Archaeological Society*. Vol. III, Part 1. 1905.
- Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*. Vol. XIII, Part 2.
- Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*. Vol. X, Part II. 1907.
- Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1906. Vol. X. Nottingham, 1907.
- Surrey Archaeological Collections*. Vol. XX.
- Société Jersiaise: Bulletin Annuel*. 1907.
- Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*. No. CVII, Vol. XXXV. 1907.
- The Reliquary*. Vol. XIII, Part 3. 1907. Benrose.

Foreign publications.

- Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*. Vol. XLVIII. Pub. No. 1656.
- Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, Years ending June 30, 1905-6. 3 Vols.
- Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin*. 80. Part 1. *Handbook of American Indians*. 1906.
- Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*. Segunda Epoca, Tomo IV, Num. 1, 2 y 3. 1907.
- Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*. Tome XXI, Livraisons I et II. 1907.
- Annuaire de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*. Tome XVIII. 1907.
- Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*. Roma. 1903. Vol. I. 1907.
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*. Deuxième Série, No. 36. Toulouse, 1906.

The Manorial Society.

The Manorial Society is about to issue the first of a series of lists of such Manor Court Rolls as are in the possession of private individuals, or in the custody of the Stewards of the Manors to which the Rolls relate, or in that of corporate bodies, as distinguished from those Court Rolls which are preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum Library, and other public depositories of collections of MSS. and other documents of antiquarian interest. It is obvious that the success of such an undertaking will depend, to a great extent, on the loyal support and cordial co-operation of local antiquaries.

Any information respecting the existence of Court Rolls, the periods which they cover, and their present custodians, will be gratefully received by the Registrar of the Society (Mr. Charles Greenwood), 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, E.C.

The list will be issued in parts, at intervals, as such information accumulates, and supplied, gratuitously, to members of the Society.

It is hardly necessary to point out the value of such lists to the cause of antiquarian research, especially as they will supplement those which are to be found in the national and other public collections above referred to.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 6th, 1907.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair,

A paper was read by Mr. CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A., on "A day's excursion among the churches of south-east Norfolk," illustrated by numerous lantern slides. The paper is printed in the *Journal* at page 91.

After the PRESIDENT had summed up the subject of the architectural features, a vote of thanks was accorded the lecturer for his paper.

March 6th, 1907.

MR. ST. JOHN HOPE, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The Rev. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "Consecration Crosses and the ritual connected with them," illustrated by numerous examples.

The discussion was opened by Col. BAYLISS and continued by Messrs. RICE and DRUCE; the CHAIRMAN having summed up, a vote of thanks was accorded the author of the paper.

April 9th, 1907.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. HOWARD CANDLER, M.A., read a paper on "How the Elephant became a Bishop: an enquiry into the origin of the names of the chess-pieces." The paper is printed in the *Journal* at p. 80.

A vote of thanks was accorded the author.

Figures in alabaster were exhibited by Mr. E. HERBERT FISON and the Rev. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE, V.P., described the figures.

May 1st, 1907.

MR. ST. JOHN HOPE, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

A paper entitled "Notes on the architecture of the church of St. Candida at Whitechurch Canoniscom, Dorset," by Miss EDITH K.

PRIDLAUN, illustrated by lantern slides, was read by Mr. FRANCIS BOND, M.A., F.G.S., on behalf of the author. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

The Rev. E. S. DEWICK and the CHAIRMAN took part in the discussion, and a vote of thanks was accorded the author.

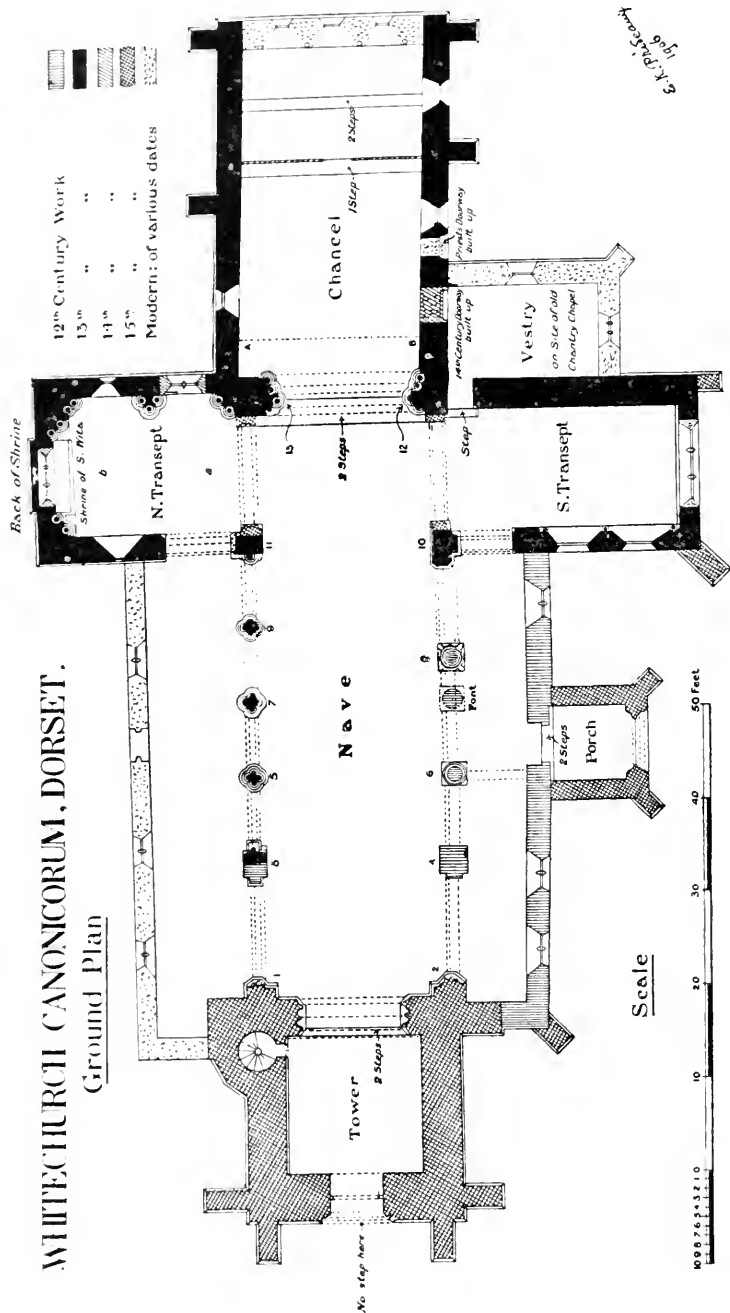
June 5th, 1907.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

MR. FRANCIS BOND, M.A., F.G.S., read a paper on "The strange history of the English Parish Church," illustrated by lantern slides, which will be printed in the *Journal*.

The Rev. E. S. DEWICK, Col. BAYLISS, Messrs. RICE and JOHNSTON took part in the discussion, and after a summing up by the PRESIDENT, a vote of thanks was accorded the author.

WHITECHURCH CANONICORUM, DORSET. Ground Plan



ILLUSTRATED NOTES ON THE CHURCH OF ST.
CANDIDA AND HOLY CROSS AT WHITECHURCH
CANONICORUM, DORSET.¹

By MISS E. K. PRIDEAUX.

PART I.

THE SAXON AND NORMAN CHURCHES.

It would be difficult to find a more emphatic example of the combination of fertile and refined artistic instinct with careless and unconscientious building than is to be seen in the fine church of St. Candida and Holy Cross at Whitechurch Canonicorum, Dorset. Its archaeological life-history has been well epitomised in a paper by the late Revd. Charles Druitt,² from which quotation will here be freely made in explanation of many points that it is my purpose to illustrate.

From the plan (Plate I) it will be seen at a glance how numerous and curious are the irregularities, not of the general design, but of the arrangement and size of the internal supports of the fabric. This is partly due to the various periods during which its construction was taking place, and also to the many extensive repairs and rebuildings necessary at intervals on account of the faulty manner in which the building had been erected without foundations in all the earlier parts. The ground on which the church is built is such that unless good foundations and footings had been made originally, violent settlements to the south-west were inevitable. The church stands on a small spur at some little distance from the foot of high hills, and towards the south-west extremity the ground dips more and more rapidly to the bottom of the valley; neither does the soil seem of a nature suited to the resistance of weights, to judge from the angles at which many of the grave-stones stand.

¹ Read before the Institute, 1st May, 1907.

² See *Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Field Club Proceedings*: xix, 145 (1898).

In going carefully and systematically over the measurements, not only of spaces but also of solids, one finds that, even where evidently the intention was to make two piers or columns alike, this was so roughly or carelessly carried out that there are scarcely any two corresponding parts that accurately measure the same.¹

The various hatchings on the plan serve to indicate the periods of the building of the different parts, though in some cases it is quite probable that the portion represented as of one period may be on the foundations of, or adapted from, earlier work no longer ascertainable, and in this paper I shall endeavour to follow the chronology of the plan, and proceed from step to step through the architectural life-history of the church.

That a church of stone was built here as early as the years between 890 and 900 by King Alfred is well authenticated by his will, dated 901, in which he bequeathed to his youngest son, Ethelward,

"that land at Eardingtonne and at Dene, and at Meone [Hants], and at Sturminster [Dorset], and at Gifle [Devon], and at Cruerne [Crewkerne], and at Hwitancirican [Whitechurch], and at Axanmouth [Axmouth], and at Branscome, and at Columptune, and at Examinster [Axminster]."²

The proximity of many of these places, as Crewkerne, Axminster, and Stourminster, have led antiquaries to conclude that the Whitechurch here mentioned is that in Dorset, the kings of Wessex having had large estates in all this district.

Mr. Druitt mentions as one theory respecting the name of the place and parish, that it was the existence of this early church of stone (not at that time so usual a building material as it became later) that gave the name of *Whitechurch* to the parish, and that its dedication to St. Candida, or Wita, was an appropriate later addition of the Norman monks who began to rebuild the church, and, in all probability, brought thither the relics of this saint.

¹ The following note from Prosper Mérimée's *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen âge* (1837), shows that this is no uncommon feature in a mediæval building. "Nulle mesure exacte, nulle symétrie dans les édifices du moyen âge. Tout se faisait de sentiment. Dans les arcades, même en

ligne droite, les largeurs sont rarement égales; aussi voit-on l'ogive employée souvent pour corriger cette irrégularité et pour conserver l'égalité de hauteur dans les arcades."

² From *Life and Times of King Alfred*, by J. A. Giles, D.D. App., p. 10.

Be that as it may, of Alfred's "White Church" there are now no visible remains; and the oldest parts of the present church date from the period of the late Transitional Norman,—i.e., the last stage of the Romanesque of England and Normandy.

The following translation of the Latin charter of William the Conqueror, by which he gave the Rectory of Whitechurch to the abbey of St. Wandragesil in Normandy, is of interest here :—

"Be it known unto all men, both future and present, that I, William, by the Grace of God, King of the English and Duke of the Normans, for the Redemption of my soul and for the salvation of my wife and children Have Granted unto the Monastery of Fontenelle, built in honour of S. Wandragesil, out of love to Guntard my Chaplain who has become a monk there, Four Churches situate in England with their tithes and all their dues as Guntard's Predecessor held them in the time of my Predecessor King Edward of Blessed Memory; whereof two, Whitechurch and Brideton, are in the county of Dorset; the third, Sherston, is in the county of Wiltshire; and the fourth, Towcester, is in the county of Northamptonshire. And that this donation," etc.¹

This Benedictine abbey of Fontenelle, now called St. Wandrille, is situated twelve miles from Rouen, near Caudebec; it must not be confused with the abbey of Fontanelles, in the Loire district. It is also recorded by Hutchins that

"a moiety of the *manor* of *Hpetecipce* in the territory of Wells, called anciently Tiddington, and Buckland Rectory and advowson of the vicarage, is mentioned in a charter granted to the *Church of Wells* by Edward the Confessor, 1065,"²

for which Hutchins refers to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. ii, No. ii, 286, ed. 1819. Possibly this early connection with Wells may have to do with the subsequent grant of the half of the great tithes to that church, and also with some striking architectural relationships to be noted later. In *Domesday Book* [Tit. 18] only the church of "Witcerce" was held by the abbey of St. Wandragesil.

¹ From *Ecclesiastical Documents*, printed for the Camden Society 1840, the names of the places being modernised. The date of the original document is between 1066 and 1086; it was seen and copied (between 1806 and 1840) by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., a

member of the Camden Society. (See *Whitechurch Parish Mag.*, Nov., 1898.)

² *History of Dorset*, 3rd Ed., ii, 252. Wells was then held by Giso, the Lothringian chaplain and favourite of King Edward the Confessor.

From these historical facts we arrive at the conclusion that it was under the Benedictine monks of St. Wandrille's abbey that the Romanesque work still surviving in the present church was executed.

It appears that, at first, their church was without aisles, and ended to the west at the rectangular piers Nos. 3 and 4 on the plan, for these, it will be observed, are of a form suggestive of having been originally part of a terminal wall; see Plate II, No. 1. Mr. Ponting, the Diocesan surveyor, in his report in July, 1900, says:¹

"The first pier of the south arcade is a square one formed by cutting the archway through on either side, and not built up as a pier; it is therefore composed of rubble masonry instead of solid stone, and is weaker in consequence."

There is no indication of how far the church originally extended eastward, but as a scheme of three squares was then a very common plan on which to set out such a church, the eastern wall of its short chancel may very probably have been somewhere near the dotted line A B shown on the plan. The two rectangular western piers mentioned above (Nos. 3 and 4 on plan) are the only remains of this early Norman church.

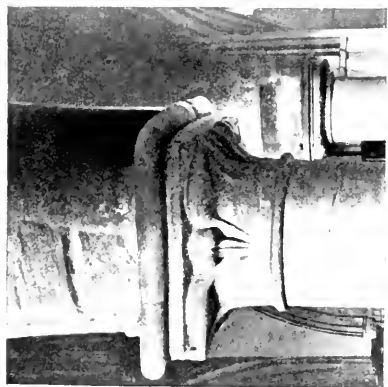
The addition of the aisles during the late Transitional period was the next step, and the date usually assigned to the south aisle arcade is c. 1180, though it may be somewhat earlier; but the exact date is a matter of less importance than the fact that we have in its existing remains a variety of interesting characteristics of the architecture of this period (Plate II, No. 2). Besides this south arcade, it appears probable that the Norman builders began, if they did not complete, their north arcade, although none of it remains now beyond the westernmost arch. And obviously the westward lengthening by one bay must have been a part of these late Transitional alterations, for the additional bay, both north and south, is still of Romanesque design, with the same hood-mould continued as that over the other south arcade arches, although the westernmost arches themselves were rebuilt in 1738.²

¹ See *Whitechurch Parish Mag.*, July, 1900.

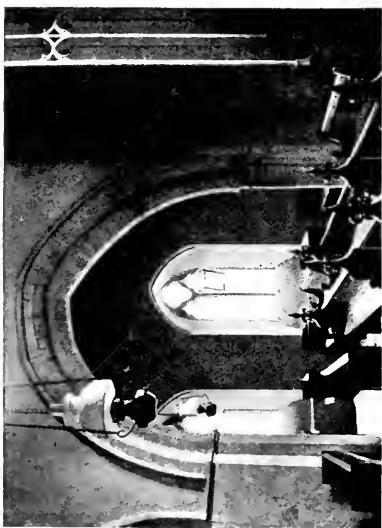
² This rebuilding is recorded on a tablet let into the internal face of the



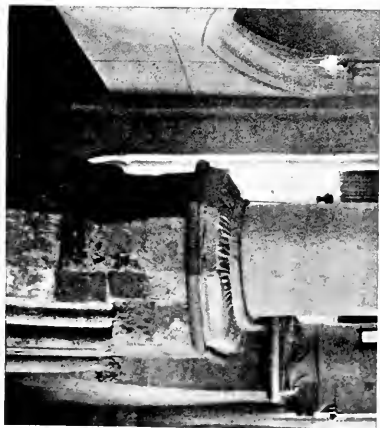
NO. 2.—SOUTH ARCADE, CENTRAL BAY.



NO. 4.—WEST VIEW OF TWO TRANSITIONAL
PIERS OF SOUTH ARCADE.



NO. 1.—SOUTH ARCADE, WESTERN BAY.



NO. 3.—EAST VIEW OF TWO TRANSITIONAL
PIERS OF SOUTH ARCADE.

Of these late Transitional alterations and additions, the two cylindrical piers forming the centre of the south nave-arcade, and the arches they carry are the earliest portions; and they present sufficient difference in style to merit separate description. The easternmost (that on the left in Plate II, No. 2) is, with the exception of the abacus, of a distinctly earlier type than the more western pier, and it is worthy of note that throughout this church, uniformity appears to have been the one thing avoided, giving one the interesting impression that it was worked upon, in no hurry, by men who individually enjoyed their work, and put into it whatever taste and skill they each possessed, often of very unequal degrees.

Those responsible for the early piers in question would seem to have had given to them as working measurements: diameter, 1 foot 9 inches, height from floor to springing of arch, 7 feet 9 inches; but how these directions were carried out seems to have been left to the discretion, or ability, of the several workers.¹ Possibly the reason for the $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches difference in height between them was that the ground on which the walls and piers were being built not only falls naturally to a lower level to the south-west, but also sank rapidly in the same direction under the weight of the rising structure, so that by the time the more western pier was erected and its necking arrived at, it was found necessary to add the $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches to its height, in the form of a deep capital, to bring the top of its abacus to the level required for the

north aisle wall (itself a rebuilding)

"These Arches
Were Rebuilt
By Henry
Pitfield
Mason
1738."

opposite this westernmost bay, and their present peculiar coarseness and want of finish quite corroborates this statement, although evidently Henry

Pitfield, mason, endeavoured to retain faithfully the original arrangement of the orders with their broad chamfers, as well as the roll hood-mould, probably re-using, in fact, the identical stones. But where the mason re-builder of 1738 had to deal with the capitals we find that his skill was unequal to the task, and he only succeeded in roughly blocking out the

form of a bell and square abacus, above the Perpendicular mouldings and shafts which had been substituted, to the west, for the earlier responds, when the tower was built in the fifteenth century. The curves of these arches are now vague and uncertain to the last degree.

¹ The nearest approach to exact similarity is in the shaft, its height being in the easternmost 6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and in the other 6 feet 2 inches, and their diameters respectively 1 foot 8 inches and 1 foot 9 inches. But their total heights, from top of base to spring of arch, differ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the less height belonging to the eastern pier and the difference being made up in the depth of the abacus and capital.

spring of the arch; and this would also account for the absolute dissimilarity of *design* in the capitals of these two piers. We shall find the same difficulty of heights met in the northern arcade, by later workers, by a variation in the length of the *shafts*, while capitals and bases are kept of uniform depth.¹

The capital of the eastern pier (Plate II, No. 3) is a very rough specimen of the coniferous capital, which was a complex and late version of the scalloped capital so common in Norman work when it was desired to lighten the original clumsy cushion.

In this instance none of the form of the old convex cushion is retained, the cones and intermediate beadings being cut upon merely a broad under-chamfer at a very acute angle to the vertical face of the capital, the latter being of such slight depth as to form only a narrow band below the abacus. The abacus is moulded, having a boldly convex profile but with an undercut hollow below it; and would therefore seem to be of later date than the rest of the pier and capital.² In plan it is octagonal, but of irregular faces, these being more or less adapted to the width of the portion of arch which each carries. In fact there is, in the plan of this capital and abacus, a distinct foreshadowing of the principle so strongly developed in all departments of Gothic architecture, that of the co-ordination of the parts, and especially of the support and its load; for just as we find in many cases the early Romanesque pier subdivided into several rectangular portions, or even shafts, and its capital following the same subdivisions, to agree with the subdivisions into orders of the arch above, so here we have the broad chamfers of the massive arch represented and responded to below by the canted faces of the capital and abacus, which are no more than the chopped-off angles of the original square plan. In the base we see³ the form which prevailed previous to the introduction of any "water-holding" hollows in the mouldings, namely, the double roll, circular in plan, over a square plinth, the lower roll being flattened into an elliptical section. At the angles

¹ Cf. measurements of north arcade; page 131. together with necking, only measures 9 inches.

² The whole capital and abacus, ³ See base of font, Plate IV, No. 2.

are very rude massive spurs, the design of which is no longer distinguishable.

This pier inclines a good deal to the westward, but it has not sunk as much as its fellow, and its base and plinth are still well above the floor level; but with the more western pier (Plate II, No. 4) we find so bad a settlement that the upper surface of its base is only just above the floor-level, and its slant to the south-west is so acute that the abacus overhangs the base by 13 inches at the south-west angle but only by 5 inches at the north-east angle. The base is without spurs, or any trace of them; but in diameter its upper surface (the only part visible) differs but little from its fellow. The abacus, square in plan, projects well beyond the capital, and its profile, like that of the eastern one, is very convex; but it has no undercut hollow below.¹ The capital is ornamented with the well-known Transitional waterleaf, which in England belongs almost exclusively to the period between 1165 and 1190; here it is very much flattened out, as the bell possesses considerable concavity; it is roughly but vigorously cut, its midrib at the angles being specially salient, which gives a desirable effect of strength to the part most needing support both artistically and constructionally. But one less common feature worth noting in this specimen of the waterleaf capital, is the introduction of an ornament on each face between the starting points of the leaves, in which there are distinct reminiscences of classic motives. Uniformity being forbidden here as elsewhere in this church, we find this ornament is only alike on the north, south, and west faces, where it takes the form of a folded leaf-bud or crocket, plainly derived from the volute of classic antecedents (see Plate II, No. 4); while that on the eastern face (Plate II, No. 3) follows, as far as the rough mason knew how, the idea of the *palmette*, or the *anthemion*, abundant in Greek and Roman design, only he has failed to cut a curled-over tip, and has had to content himself with a flattened top-edge.² Through-

¹ The depth of the whole abacus and capital, including necking, is 1 foot 7 inches, of which 5½ inches is given to the abacus, 2 inches to the necking and the rest to the capital, pure and simple.

² The shaft of the western pier has had to be repaired in the latest repairs of the church (1900), when one of the joints opened owing to the unequal distribution of the weight of the arch

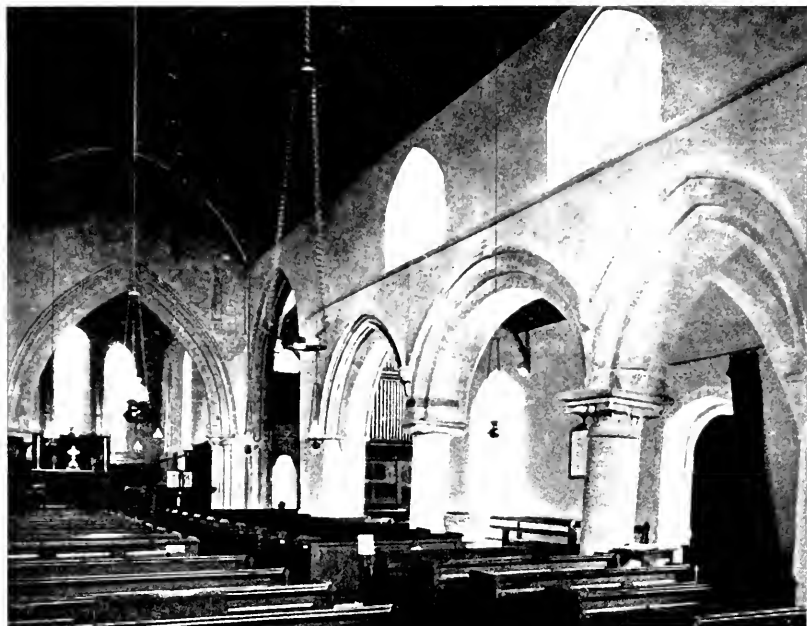
out the church there seems to have been a feeling for giving special richness, or rather distinction, to the eastern face of various details, for, as we shall notice later, in several other capitals the design is changed towards the east.

Turning to the arches of this south arcade, the chief points to note are the irregularity of their spacing and consequent forms, and the great massiveness and plainness of their unmoulded orders. The central does not bear centrally upon either of the cylindrical piers carrying it, having slipped and shifted westward with the same settlement, but not at the same rate as the piers. The orders are two in number, and are of advanced style as compared with the bare square-edged type of St. Albans (c. 1089), Great Malvern (c. 1084), etc., to the extent of having their edges broadly chamfered; but a bold roll as hood-mould is added, and finished at its ends by most expressive face-corbels, executed less roughly than might have been expected from the work on the capitals. The central arch, the only one which is semi-circular, has also a beast's head mask clasping the hood-mould at the apex. As regards the irregular spacing in this aisle, it seems probable that this central arch is the only one of the original design for the whole pier-arcade, but that its extravagant proportions, and the settlement of the pier-foundations occurring so early in the work, as we have good reason to believe was the case, resulted in such obvious instability that the builders perforce altered their scheme, and placed a very narrow and pointed arch (the structural value of which they were fully acquainted with) on the weakest, or the western side, as a check upon the prodigious thrust of the central arch, and therewith intended to end their arcade. (Plate III, No. 1.) This narrow arch rested at its western extremity on a massive corbel set in the terminal wall.

To the east also, although the arch next the central one (Plate III, No. 2) is not so narrow as the western one, it is evident from its mouldings that it was built, or at least completed, at a later date than the central arch,

upon it, mentioned above; the pier was underpinned, and a deep concrete foundation inserted—see Report of Mr.

Ponting, Diocesan Surveyor; *White-church Parish Mag.*, July, 1900.



NO. 1.—INTERIOR, SOUTH SIDE, LOOKING EAST.



NO. 2.—SOUTH ARCADE, EASTERNMOST BAY AND TRANSEPT ARCH.



NO. 1.—SOUTH DOORWAY, NAVE.



NO. 2.—THE FONT.

and not according to the original design. But some of its present peculiarities may be due to the former existence and demolition of a central crossing-tower, to which I shall presently refer.

Next in order, chronologically, we must look at the south doorway, inside the south porch (Plate IV, No. 1), which belongs to a further advanced stage of the transition than the central piers and arches of the nave. As to the wall of the south aisle, in which it is set, it is hardly clear how far it belongs to the same period or to a later one; its thickness (2 feet 6 inches) is suggestive of the original Romanesque plan, but the masonry looks more like a rebuilding of the fifteenth century, when undoubtedly the parapet was added; and the insertion in its external face of one of the carved stones only found otherwise in the fifteenth century tower, would also lead to the conclusion that it belonged to that period.¹ But in the doorway itself we have an excellent specimen of late Transitional work. It is but slightly recessed, in two orders only, but the mouldings of the outer order round the semi-circular head are bold and effective, one being enriched with an early version of the dog-tooth, somewhat flat and without the undercutting of later specimens; the hood-mould, composed of a double roll, the outer one of which is filleted, is clasped at the apex by a beast's head mask, and similar ornaments are given to it as terminations. A deep, rectangular, moulded abacus forms the impost of the arch, and the single shafts below, at the inner angle of this order, are keel-shaped and have capitals of a much more advanced type of design than those of the Transitional piers within, deep, slender, concave bells, with foliated crockets at the angles. The inner order is perfectly plain and continuous throughout. The jambs on the right-hand side still show the deeply cut consecration crosses.

We should next look at the font (Plate IV, No. 2), the bowl of which belongs to the same period as the early work we have been considering.² The border at the upper

¹ Its deflection from the straight line, observable on plan, may have had something to do with the peculiarly bad character of foundation the hill afforded at the south-west angle of the church; or it may have been merely accidental,

and belong to the lengthening of the nave when the extra bay was added westward. The windows in this wall are evidently later work.

² It was found buried in a field belonging to Berne Farm, within a mile

edge is the sunk-star design, common in both early and late Norman work; the lower edge has the very common Norman cable moulding, and the intervening space is filled with an arcade of interlacing, semi-circular, arches; there is no attempt at undercutting in any of this carving.

The church seems to have been still in the hands of the Norman builders when the westward lengthening was carried out, though probably their northern nave arcade was in progress before that was begun. The evidence for the existence of this arcade lies in the fact that the original north aisle, only superseded by the present one in 1849, is reported to have been extremely narrow,¹ which indicates Norman planning, and other evidence is found in the measurements of the existing northern arcade, which will be dealt with later. There seems reason to think that, to the east, even the south arcade was not finished at this time, as its easternmost arch (Plate III, No. 2) strikes one as a sort of link, chronologically, between the earlier Romanesque work and the fully developed early English Gothic of the later building, the inner order of the arch retaining the broad, plain chamfer of the former, while the outer order is well moulded in a later style, and the hood-mould differs from that above the earliest arches in having a fillet on its face. Another hood-mould is given to this arch on the south face (Plate II, No. 3), which has a rather elaborately carved little foliated termination at its western point. It is possible that the curiously adapted mouldings noticeable in this arch² have been the result of the later builders having found it incomplete, with its inner order only finished, and the outer order merely started by two courses, whereupon they continued and completed it in their more advanced style. It is, however, also quite possible that this arch had to be more or less rebuilt at a comparatively late period, in consequence of the fall or removal of a central tower (see page 130), and that therefore the awkward adaptation of

from the church, and placed in its present position, on a new Devonshire marble pedestal and stone base, by Sir Wm. Palmer, vicar, in 1849. That it originally belonged to Whitechurch is pretty clear from the fact that, at the time when such fountains were made, the other churches now in the neighbour-

hood, as Charmouth, etc., were not in existence. Whitechurch was the mother church for an enormous district.

¹ Only 4 or 5 feet, I was told by an old resident who remembered it.

² "The Norman work has been notched out to permit of the insertion of the outer rings." Mr. Druitt's paper (*supra*).

its mouldings, and their difference from those of the rest of the south arcade, is entirely owing to such a rebuilding.

By the records it is shown that

“the Norman convent held the rectory for more than a century till, in the time of Richard I., or John, it was surrendered to the bishop and chapter of Old Sarum, between 1193 and 1216.”¹

The reason of this surrender is not given in any records, but it is open to conjecture that the Wandrille authorities were justly dissatisfied with the state of the building, in which dangerous settlement (if not actual collapse) was already taking place; and that this inevitable result of the want of conscientious foundations so discouraged them as to lead to their abandoning the building, and relinquishing the property.

PART II.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY CHURCH, AND SHRINE.

The church of Old Sarum, on receiving from the Norman abbey (*c.* 1200) the property of Whitechurch with its revenues and unfinished building, seems shortly after to have given the advowson to Sir Robert Mandivel, a resident knight, apparently on condition that he should complete the church¹; and there is seen a very signal difference in the style of the portion built after this change of owners.

As in all transitions there are found very great differences in the work of contemporary craftsmen, one locality being far ahead of another in style, so, here, it is not at all necessary to provide in imagination any considerable space of time between the work of one set of builders and that of the next, to account for the immense advance in style. It simply means that the old workmen had gone on in their traditional style, while the new workmen came from parts in which the characteristics of early Gothic architecture were already well developed, and brought with them drawings, or rather the templates, of the mouldings, etc., that had, before 1200, come into vogue. It seems probable that the new builders began their work

¹ Mr. Druitt's article, *Salisbury Diocesan Gazette*, Sept., 1900.

at Whitechurch with the east end of the chancel (Plate V, No. 1), which shows, in its external keel-shaped angle-shafts, indications of the transition being still incomplete.¹

The next two illustrations (Plate V, Nos. 2 and 3) show the exterior and interior of the single northern window of the chancel, and in Plate IV, No. 4, is seen one of the two southern ones;² and beneath it the priest's doorway, built up during Sir Wm. Palmer's alterations of 1848-9.³

The inclination of the chancel to the south is very marked,⁴ especially as seen when looking down on the roof lines from the tower. Thence also is well seen the Sanctus bell-cote placed over the eastern gable of the nave, and the chimney-like aperture down which the bell-rope passed into the interior of the church. (Plate V, No. 4.)

The chancel has no external strings, nor any original one internally. It seems as if great frugality in decoration had been exercised on this part of the church, for although the chancel is very large, it contains little, east of the chancel arch, of the richness which characterizes the nave and transepts.

A noteworthy peculiarity in this church, as it now stands, is the absence of a crossing-tower, so usual a feature in cruciform churches. In all probability the design for the extended church of this period included such a tower (as well as the north and south transepts), though it is not certain that it was ever erected. The size of the present western piers of the crossing is so moderate that they would be quite inadequate for the support of a tower, but, as they have obviously been *cut back* into their present very peculiar and irregular shapes, it seems quite probable that originally they were of a size and shape corresponding to those of the chancel-arch, forming with these the four supports for a crossing-tower. However, it should be noted, on the other hand, that, had these two western tower-piers originally matched those to the east,

¹ They occur in just the same position in the earliest parts of Pershore abbey, classed by Mr. F. Bond as West of-England Gothic.

² The eastern wall and windows were greatly rebuilt in 1848-9.

³ In order, as I was told by an old resident who remembered the occasion, to prevent the common use that was made of it by lay persons entering the church from that quarter.

⁴ See plan, Plate I.



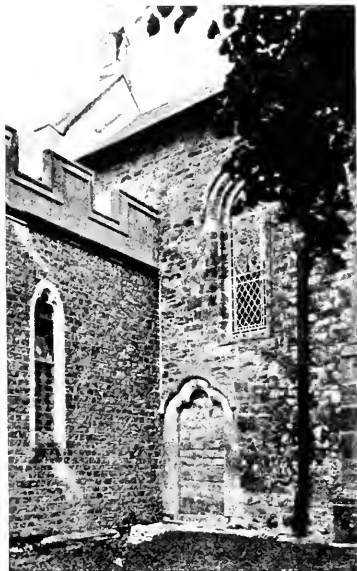
NO. 1.—EAST END.



NO. 2.—INTERIOR OF N.
WINDOW, CHANCEL.



NO. 3.—N. CHANCEL WINDOW AND
WINDOWS OF N. TRANSEPT.



NO. 4.—S. SIDE OF CHANCEL AND
SANCTUS BELL-COTE.

they must have occupied 4 feet 6 inches floor-space, from west to east, starting on the west from that point of the nave-arcade at which the string-course now terminates abruptly (for this string-course shows that the tower could not have started further west than this), and therefore that their reduction to their present dimensions would have involved an enormous amount of cutting back. And, placing the imaginary western crossing-piers where they must have stood to carry a central tower, we find that the space left for the tower would have been very oblong (about 13 feet by 9 feet), but this is not unparalleled, as seen at Devizes, Bath abbey, Dorchester abbey¹ and Great Malvern priory.²

The north pier-arcade (Plate VIII, No. 3) was doubtless an early part of the new builder's task; and here they had not an entirely free hand, for it seems probable that this was a rebuilding where an early Romanesque arcade had previously stood and fallen, or threatened to do so. This may be argued from the fact that the new builders suited the length of their shafts to pre-existing sinking of the ground towards the west, such as might have been caused by the weight of an arcade built without foundations. There is a graduated increase in the length of the *shafts* of 4 inches in three bays, proceeding westwards, and considerably more in the fourth bay, evidently intentionally arranged to meet an already-existing settlement, for the bases of these piers are uniform in depth (1 foot 9 inches).³ The ground here is fairly level and does not slope to the westward as on the south side. But apart from any

¹ The latter, like Whitechurch, has no crossing-tower now, but its supports remain.

² There are, it should be observed, many other instances of cruciform parish churches without central towers, *e.g.*, that at Clee, near Grimsby, which had none till recently, having had a western tower of early date; St. Michael's, Penkivel; Sherbrooke, Tywardreath, St. Columb Major, etc., in Cornwall (see paper by G. E. Street in *Transactions Exeter Diocesan Architectural Soc.*, Vol. iv, pt. i), all of which were planned with transepts and no crossing-tower; and Westdown, and Braunton in Devon; besides these, St. Mary's, Redcliff, and Terrington, St. Clement's,

in both of which the central tower was definitely planned but never erected.

³ Thus we find in the easternmost pier of this arcade all four shafts measure 4 feet 10 inches from base to necking; in the next pier, the east, north, and south shafts measure 4 feet 11½ inches, while the west shaft is increased to 5 feet. In the next westward pier, the east, north and south shafts are 5 feet 1½ inches, and the west one full 5 feet 2 inches. The single shaft of what was originally the western respond of this arcade is 5 feet 11½ inches in height, but the sudden 9½ inches increase here is partly due to its base being of less depth than the others.

such considerations the new builders were free to design their work independently of that of their predecessors, and this they proceeded to do by first spacing their north arcade quite differently from that on the south, so that it comprises five bays instead of four.

It is, however, in the mouldings and carvings that the fresh ideas and handiwork are most manifest; and here an interesting point arises. When we look at the wonderful series of capitals that these new workmen executed in this arcade, and further east, we naturally ask whence did they bring this class of work in which their hands were already well skilled? These capitals show the strongest relationship to the work so highly developed in Wells, St. Davids, Dore abbey, Llandaff, St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, Llanidloes, and other churches of the West of England, which is classed as a distinct Western school of carving, or rather, as one distinctive feature in a Western school of architecture, by modern authors who have had the opportunity of comparing specimens all over the country.¹ Of this Western school of sculpture, to which most of the northern capitals in Whitechurch belong, this church is, I believe, the most Eastern distinct example in the country; but the connection of this parish with Wells² suggests the possibility of a direct architectural influence thence, especially when we compare the form and mouldings of the pier arcade arches with those of the nave of Wells,³ and observe how remarkably similar they are. (See Plate VIII, No. 3.)

We will now look at these northern arcade capitals in detail to note their special characteristics, beginning with that of the respond on the east face of the rectangular pier, which had originally been the terminal west wall of the church. They all measure the same in depth and projection of abacus, the mouldings of which are the same in all until the chancel arch is reached. Figs. 1 and 2 show the profiles of some of the capitals. In the two first capitals (Plate VI, Nos. 1 and 2) there is less of the distinguishing western character than in others; the foliage designs are very early, quite Romanesque, being a

¹ See Mr. F. Bond's *Gothic Architecture in England*, where the West-of-England capitals are illustrated at pages 412, and 422-424. Also in Mr. E.

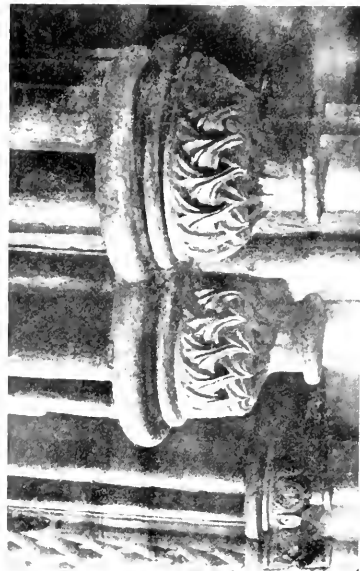
Prior's *Gothic Art in England*.

² See p. 121 and p. 144.

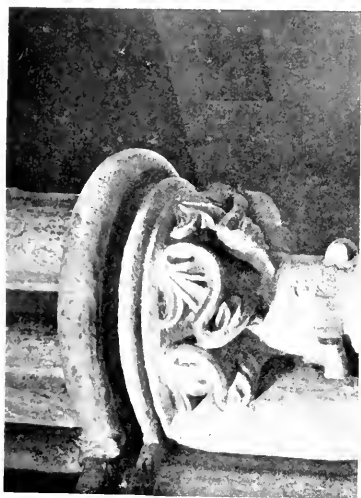
³ The nave of Wells was finished just about this time.



NO. 2.



NO. 4.



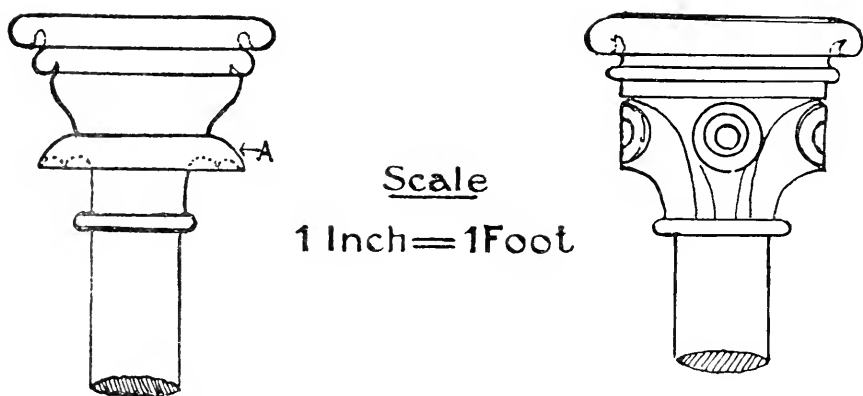
NO. 1.



NO. 3.

CAPITALS IN NORTH PIER-ARCADE; NAVE.

rather free rendering of the tri-lobed leaf-scroll which was in favour before the truly Gothic type of foliage had developed; it is usually carved with a uniform projection and more or less flat face, on one plane, and seems to be derived from the leaf-scroll of the classic Corinthian capital. It is not at all confined to one district, and good examples of its use may be seen in New Shoreham, Sussex (1175), and Tilney All Saints, Rutland (1150).¹ In these Whitechurch examples there are no distinct stalks. But when we come to the third pier (Plate VI, Nos. 3 and 4), we have a different class of design, or designs, for there are three varieties used in this cluster. This pier is intentionally richer than any others of the arcade, as



FIGS. 1 AND 2.—PROFILES OF CAPITALS IN N. PIER ARCADE; NAVE.

also the arch, of which it carries one foot, without any apparent reason for such distinction; but very probably the shrine of St. Candida, now placed in the north transept, was originally lodged beneath this arch, opposite the south entrance; and it was not until the pilgrimages to this sacred spot had brought in considerable funds that the north transept with its rich decorations was prepared as its final resting-place. The capital of the western shaft of this pier (Plate VI, No. 3) has its foliage wind blown, and not only the leaves themselves turn sideways and have their tips curled over backwards as if by a gust

¹ For illustrations see Mr. Bond's 430; as also the classic prototype, *Gothic Architecture*, at pp. 429 and p. 425.

of wind, but the stems also are not vertical, but rise from nearly half-way above the necking with a graceful sweep from the opposite direction. This running slant of the stems is not common in early work, but it appears again in this church in the north transept, and seems to foreshadow the naturalistic arrangement of later days, when the stems or branches took free and irregular directions, and were quite independent of the necking.¹ The south and east capitals of this same pier are of a design seen in various stages of development in several early and contemporary churches; we shall see a stiffer variant of it in this church, in the south-west capital of the south pier of the chancel-arch (Plate X, No. 2), although there adapted to a longer and more slender bell.² Apparently all take their idea from the classic leaf-scroll before referred to, but its use in the elongated form seen in Whitechurch and in St. Nicholas, Gloucester, is a Western characteristic, and a step towards the distinctively Gothic stiff-leaf foliage, a stage further advanced than that shown in the two first capitals. It may be observed that throughout Whitechurch the stalks are very flat, more like bands than stems; this is also the case in much early West-Country carving.

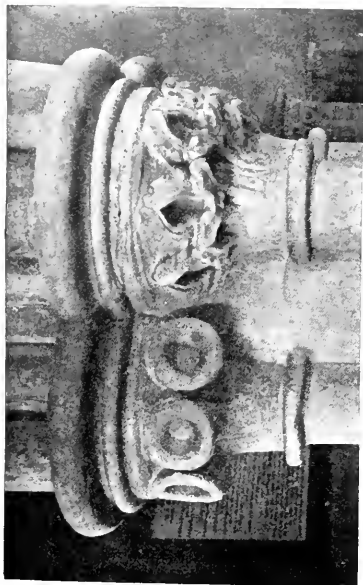
The fourth capital of this pier is distinctly a "freak." Its outline is barely visible in the illustration, but the measured profile of it (Fig. 1) shows its peculiarities, the portion between the kind of moulded shelf (*a*) and the abacus being left uncarved. Probably it was originally roughly shaped and put up to be carved *in situ*, and then, some breakage taking place which interfered with any foliage design being executed upon it, it was cut to its present shape.

In the capitals of the next pier (Plate VII, No. 1), we have a most interesting illustration of how one form develops from another in the process of practical work. In the first place, the design of the capital of the western shaft (on the left in Plate VII, No. 1), which we may call a decidedly *floral* design, originated probably from the old Romanesque coniferous capital, the cone, originally

¹ Cf. Southwell Chapterhouse.

² Another, later, specimen is in S. Nicholas, Gloucester (1229); and in the early work of Oxford Cathedral

transept (illustrated in Mr. Bond's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 423), we find beneath a still square abacus, a design obviously suggested by the same motif.

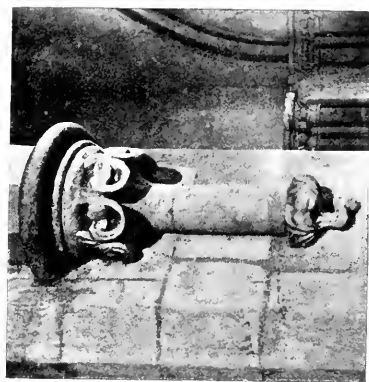


NO. 1.

CAPITALS IN NORTH PIER ARCADE; NAVE.



NO. 2.



NO. 3.

CORBEL SHAFTS TO NORTH AISLE ARCH.



NO. 4.

convex in that style, having here had its lower part incurved, like the bell of a trumpet-shaped flower, and its upper edge cut off flat and then hollowed out till it formed this distinctly floral ornament, much resembling the large bindweed.¹ And then, passing on to the leaf design of the other three companion capitals, any draughtsman will easily realise how these large, rather crude, blossoms (which do not seem to have pleased their designers, as they are never repeated) were transformed into the far more graceful and complex double tier of leaves we see on the capitals north, south, and east of this pier.

The next capital (Plate VII, No. 2), that of the single shaft of the crossing-pier, is one of those in which a resemblance to some capitals in the arcading of St. Hugh's work in Lincoln is noticeable,² although the workmanship is much rougher; and here we also have a peculiarity found in the West Country of the omission of the necking,³ which was probably another experiment of this school, and not widely adopted, even by them, on account of its unsatisfactory effect. We find another instance of it here in the next capital (Plate VII, No. 3), that of the corbelled shaft of the arch leading from the north aisle into the transept. This arch is modern, but evidently this original shaft was preserved and built in again, its undercutting and work generally being very good and characteristic of the period.⁴

The companion corbel shaft (Plate VII, No. 4) facing it, is a modern would-be variation of the same type; the scrolls are cut as if by machinery, and the little terminal foliage-group is almost devoid of undercutting or any fine work. It serves as an instructive contrast between thirteenth century work and that of mid-nineteenth century.

With these corbel-shafts ends the earliest series of Gothic capitals in the church, though those of the north transept and the chancel arch are only as much later as is implied in the fact that the transepts and chancel-arch were next built, *i.e.*, about 1220, and that by that time

¹ See examples of a somewhat similar development in Wells and St. Davids, given at p. 412 of Mr. Bond's *Gothic Architecture in England*.

² The Lincoln examples referred to are illustrated in Mr. Bond's *Gothic*

Architecture, pp. 422 and 423.

³ *Ibid.* p. 434.

⁴ Its design shows an interesting combination of the tri-lobed leaf-scroll motif, with the developed cone form seen in west capital of pier 9 on plan.

the designs of the carving had naturally developed into a more free and distinctively Gothic style.

It is unnecessary to comment on each one separately; we have already noticed the unusual running slant of the stems in the next capital (Plate VIII, No. 1), the foliage of which is supposed to represent that of the water-aven, or, as others like to imagine, water-lilies, in allusion to St. Candida,¹ as these capitals crown the shafts on the west of the shrine of this saint; those on the east of the shrine are of a more conventional type (Plate VIII, No. 2). Originally they bore one arch of a wall-arcade, which must have fallen and never been replaced, though the two arches of it that fill the eastern wall are still perfect. (Plate IX, No. 4.)

The next three illustrations, Plate IX, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, are the capitals of this eastern wall-arcade; the work on them shows a great advance in skill, the undercutting is deep and good, and the foliage free and vigorous, especially in No. 2, which is that of the central cluster of shafts in the arcade.

In these and the four figures of Plate X we see the Western type very definitely represented. Their designs are very closely related to those in the retrochoir of Dore abbey church, with this difference, however, that the bell and stalks in the Whitechurch examples are of normal proportions, while in Dore abbey church they are abnormally long.²

The capitals of the chancel arch (Plate X) change their designs towards the east; in the southern group the change takes place actually in the middle of the capital carrying the inner order of the arch.³ It should also be noticed that here the upper member of the abacus is enriched with a fillet, this being the only part of the church in which this additional refinement appears. The neckings, too, are of an entirely different section to those of all the other shafts, and they are here continued round the intermediate shafts of the pier, which have no capitals, and this only occurs besides on the groups of shafts either

¹ Mr. Drutt's paper (1898) *supra*.

² This great length of bell and stalk is also seen in Wells, nave and transept, and Llandaff, nave. Illustrated in Mr.

Bond's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 424.

³ The right-hand capital in Plate X, No. 1 is the same as the left hand capital in Plate X, No. 2.



NO. 1.



NO. 2.

CAPITALS ON EITHER SIDE OF SHRINE.



NO. 3.—INTERIOR, NORTH SIDE, LOOKING EAST.



NO. 1.



NO. 2.

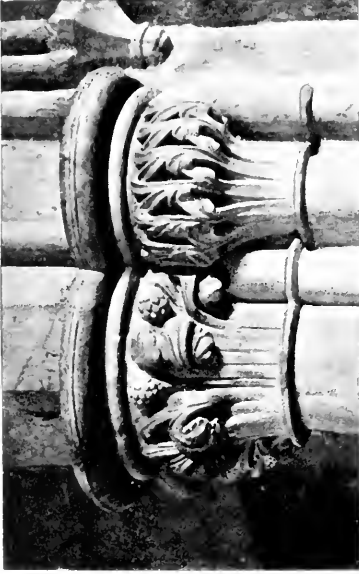
CAPITALS OF EAST WALL ARCADE; N. TRANSEPT.



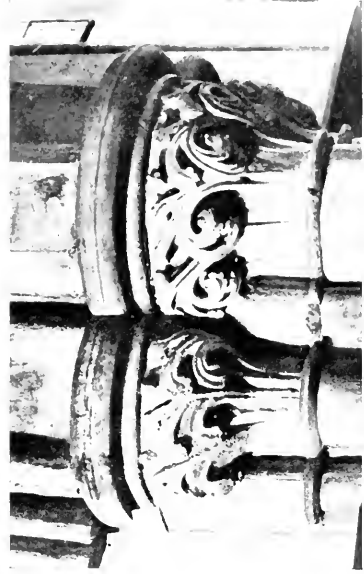
NO. 3.—CAPITAL IN E. WALL ARCADE;
N. TRANSEPT.



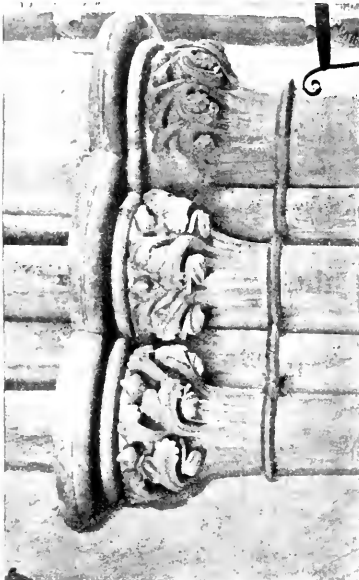
NO. 4.—S. BAY OF E. WALL ARCADE;
N. TRANSEPT.



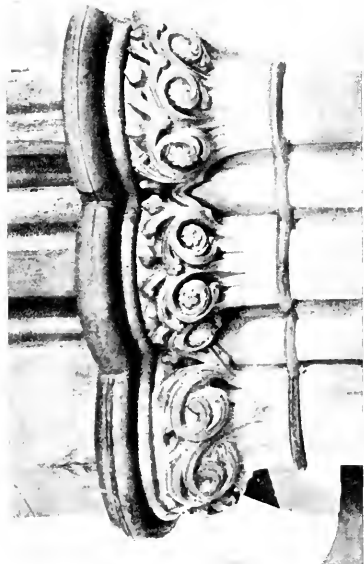
NO. 21.—W. PIER, WESTERN FACE.



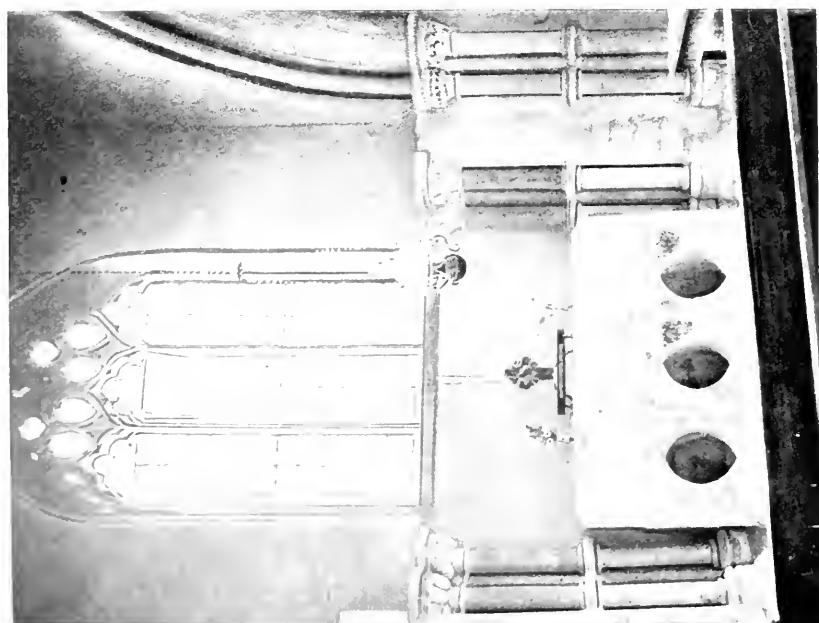
NO. 1.—W. PIER, WESTERN FACE.



NO. 1.—E. PIER, EASTERN FACE.

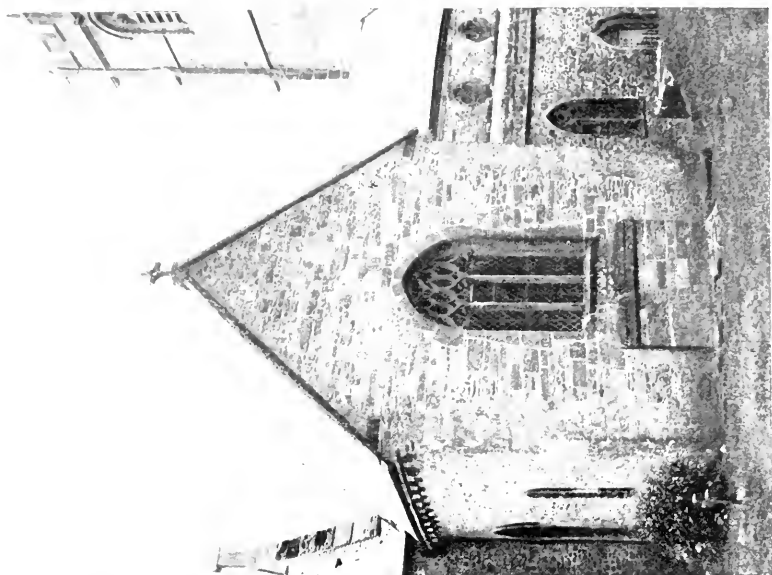


NO. 3.—E. PIER, EASTERN FACE.



NO. 1.

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR VIEWS OF THE SHRINE OF ST. CANDIDA; N. TRANSEPT,



NO. 2.

side of the shrine, showing that it was considered an extra adornment.

The shafts of these chancel-arch piers, as of all those of the north nave-arcade, are attached to their central columns, but in the north transept the shafts are well detached, standing free by a full inch and a quarter; and there alone they are also banded (Plate IX, No. 4) with rather heavy, deep, and much-projecting bands.

And now we should turn to the object of all this additional richness and prodigality of decoration in the north transept, namely, the honouring of the burial-place of the relics of a saint and martyr, the blessed St. Wite, or Candida. Little of certainty is really known of her personality; she is not mentioned even in the great *Acta Sanctorum*; but out of six saints of the name of Candida enumerated in the Roman Martyrology of Gregory XIII. some authorities have felt justified in selecting the one who was a virgin martyr as the saint here honoured. It is true that it was in Carthage that this St. Candida was scourged to death, under Maximian, and a good deal of imagination is required to account for the appearance here in Dorsetshire of her remains; but stranger things than that have happened to saints.¹

At the same time, other authorities find many reasons for believing that the relics here enshrined are those of a local, or at least a "home-grown," St. Candida.

What is, however, now beyond conjecture, and was revealed during Mr. Druitt's vicariate, is, that the actual remains of a small body (presumably a woman's) are still resting in the little leaden casket which is enclosed in the upper part of the stone-work of this curious monument,

¹ The transportation of relics from the East, however, at this period, was not uncommon. In Mr. J. Park Harrison's paper on "The Influence of Eastern Art on Western Architecture in the first half of the eleventh century" (*Archæological Journal*, lvi. 1899), he tells us that "The chronicles of Fontenelle (St. Wandrille's abbey), and Verdun monastery when recording this intercourse" (*i.e.* the frequent visits of bishops and abbots from the Holy Land and Syria to the Court of Duke Richard II. of Normandy 1004) "make special mention of Simeon, abbot of St.

Catherine's on Mount Sinai, who stayed two years at Rouen, and superintended the erection of a church dedicated to St. Catherine on a hill in the suburbs of that town, in which he deposited the relics of the saint which he had brought with him from the East. It is quite open to conjecture, therefore, that the relics of St. Candida may have been similarly brought over and deposited in some Norman abbey, if not Fontenelle itself, whence the St. Wandrille monks procured them for the glorification of their Dorsetshire property.

and that on this leaden casket are inscribed the following words :—

✱ HIC-REQUESĈT-RLIQUE-SĈE-WITE

now copied on to a piece of oak and placed above the tomb.¹ The next two illustrations (Plate XI, Nos. 1 and 2) show the shrine as it now appears internally, and its external projection. It was in April, 1900, that "owing to a settlement in the foundations of the transept, the shrine became so dislocated that, as a condition of repair, it had to be opened. This was done with the greatest care and reverence under the personal superintendence of the Rev. C. Druitt, the vicar at that time."² It is unnecessary here to give a full account of the opening of the shrine and the state of the contents, as this has been done in a paper by Mr. Druitt.³ Suffice it to say, that Mr. W. H. St. John Hope classifies it as a "shrine of the twelfth and thirteenth century type, such as the tomb of St. Osmund at Sarum" (recently identified by him), "the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster, shown in the well-known Cambridge MS., and the 'Tumba Sci. Thome' at Canterbury." And it was also stated by the late Mr. Micklethwaite on the same occasion, that the only other shrine or reliquary remaining *in situ* in England is that of St. Edward at Westminster.

The oval openings in the pedestal beneath the coffin were, as in those of St. Davids and St. Albans, for the insertion of diseased limbs for cure, or handkerchiefs or other small articles to be carried thence, bearing with them healing virtue from the relics of the saint. Neither coffin nor pedestal now bears any external inscription, but it is not very long since the remains of one was still visible

¹ See Mr. Druitt's account in the *Salisbury Diocesan Gazette*, September, 1900; also pamphlet, *Points of Interest which a Visitor should Observe*, by the Rev. W. H. Stent, supplied in the church.

² This was not the first opening, for Hutchins (i. 331, ed. 1774) mentions the shrine as "a very ancient tomb without inscription; in it a leaden box full of bones." And there is also a tradition in the parish, among the family of masons living there, that one of them (now dead) when working at the north wall of the church for Sir Wm. Palmer,

vicar, in 1848, came upon "a box of bones," but was afraid of being found out and blamed for having moved it. This would account for what Mrs. Druitt (an eye-witness of the opening in 1900) told me as to the tipped-up position of the reliquary in the coffin. She said, "It seemed to have been thrust in hastily from the outside of the church."

³ *Salisbury Diocesan Gazette*, September, 1900, and also on record in the *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, May, 1900.

on the front. In 1849, when the church was re-opened, after restoration, a contemporary account mentions the monument as a "raised tomb of great antiquity, retaining traces of fresco paintings"; and in the 1863 edition of Hutchins, in speaking of the tomb, it is recorded that

"on the front are some remains of painting, *c.* 1400, on the west a shield bearing a cross fleury and surrounded by a wreath is depicted and a similar cross was discovered on the opposite side. Between the two is a remnant of a scroll which bore two lines of Latin inscription: the only words that can be distinguished are:—

"Candida"
 "Candidiorque."

As in the original 1774 edition of Hutchins, it is specially mentioned as being "without inscription," either this painting was more modern than that date, or else the first edition of Hutchins was inaccurate. By the time of Mr. Drutt's incumbency (1897) this inscription had entirely disappeared.

That the "*Sēte Wite*" of the reliquary inscription, and the "*Candida*" of the later, and vanished, external one, are the same person, is proved by the use of both these names for the church indifferently, in wills from 1220 to 1531.¹

That the north transept was specially rich in style from the time of its building (*c.* 1220) seems to point to the fact that its consecration as the burial place and chapel of St. Wite was a part of its original scheme. The wall-arcading is a feature not repeated in any other part of the church, and doubtless in each of the two bays of the eastern wall an altar was placed, though the plaster now covering the walls internally, forbids any indications of them being visible. By tapping the walls, sundry hollows are found in positions suggestive of piscinas.

Returning to the chronological tour of the interior, from which the detailed examination of the capitals in complete sequence has allured us, we must first look at the piers and arches of the north nave-arcade again. The plans

¹ The origin and date of the other dedication of the church, Holy Cross, is not known; but in the will of Roger Bevis (or Beaufiz, or Bovis), 13th vicar, A.D. 1452, he leaves £3 6s. 8d. and his body

to be buried "in ecclesia *Ste. Crucis*, de Whitechurch." In the opinion of some, however, the description refers only to the cruceiform plan of the building.

and bases¹ of the piers are shown in Fig. 3, the arches they bear are seen on Plate VIII, No. 3, and although these arches (except the westernmost, already described) are all of similar shape and proportions, yet even in them the love of variety characterising the church was allowed scope. They are rather acutely pointed, of two orders, and their bold and well-contrasted mouldings are devoid of fillets, but those of the central bay (Plate XII, No. 1) are enriched with an uncommon use of the chevron, another "freak" in the work of this church, or, probably, an

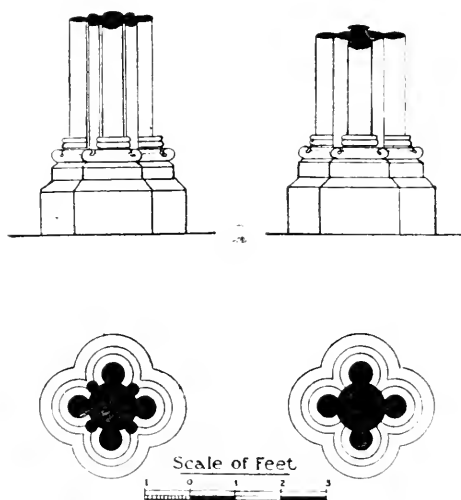


FIG. 3.—PIERS OF N. NAVE ARCADE.

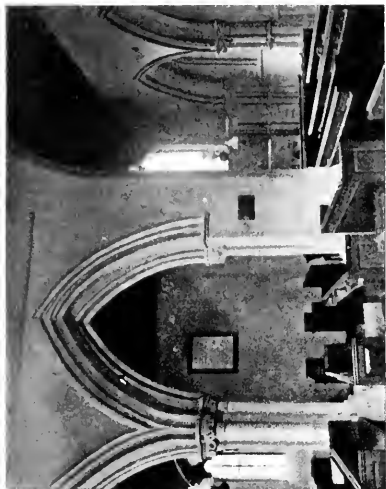
experiment tried here by these free-handed members of the Western school of carving, and not repeated elsewhere,² as being of rather doubtful artistic effect.

It is, however, an interesting link between the Norman and Early English mouldings, and gives us a peep behind the scenes into the experimental work that must occasionally have been carried on in the course of the evolution of one style from another. The easternmost arch of the arcade (Plate XII, No. 2), with the wall above it, is very irregular in outline, having a decided list to the eastward,

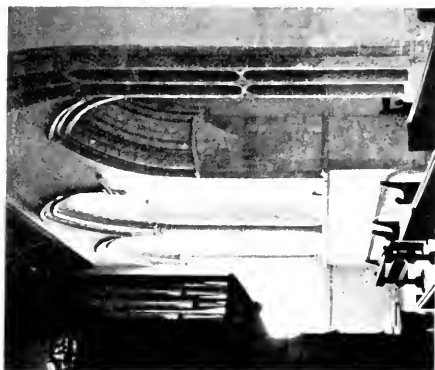
¹ These bases have been sawn flat on their south faces, to allow, apparently, of fitting the pews.

² I believe, however, something similar

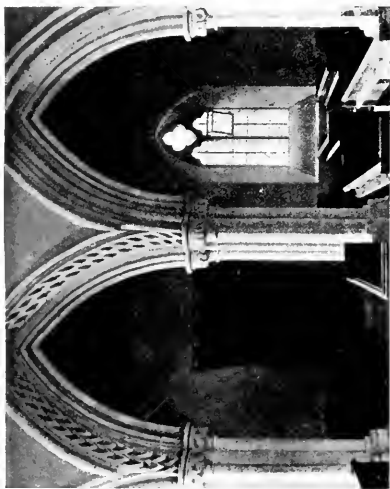
does appear in Wimborne Minster; and a more distant instance of it is found at Hargreave, Northamptonshire (1200), illustrated in Parker's *Glossary*, 120.



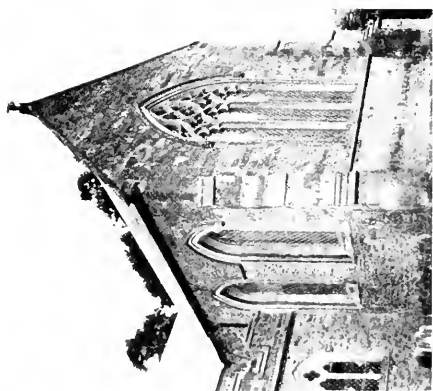
NO. 2.—N. ARCADE; EASTERN BAY.



NO. 4.—S. TRANSEPT; INTERIOR.



NO. 1.—N. ARCADE; CENTRAL BAY.



NO. 3.—S. TRANSEPT; EXTERIOR.

and also bowing slightly forward. This may be the result of the fall or removal of a central tower, or it may be due merely to the two subsequent alterations that took place at that point, first, early in the fifteenth century, the heightening and rebuilding of the adjoining transept arch; and second, in 1848, the widening and rebuilding of the north aisle, when the corbelled arch across its eastern end was entirely new. The abrupt termination of the string below the clerestory on both this and the opposite nave-wall is doubtless also owing to one of the above alternatives.

In the north transept (1220), the chief details of which have already been described in connection with the shrine, there remains to note of this period two of the windows, which are of interest.

The single lancet in the western wall is without moulding or ornament inside and out; the plan and elevation in Fig. 4 show its tremendous splay, and it is noteworthy that this window has the glass now set against a rebate in the jamb, only two inches from the outer face of the wall; and this points to the probability of its having originally been unglazed, and closed only with a wooden shutter, as was common at that period.

The other remaining lancet (Fig. 5) is in the eastern wall, originally above one of the altars, and is therefore a more careful piece of work, having roll-mouldings all round it both inside and out, and a string beneath it. The second early lancet, in the south bay of this east wall, and also those which probably existed originally in the north wall, have given place to larger windows of later date. Externally, the north transept retains the corbelled eaves-course which has elsewhere disappeared; most of the corbels now are plain restorations, but two ancient ones remain on the western side.

The south transept is of nearly the same period as the north, but without its distinctive richness. Its chief decorative features now are the two beautifully proportioned, single-light, lancet windows on the western side (Plate XII, No. 3). These are much splayed, and their interior roll-moulding rises from banded shafts resting on square plinths on the sill. A filleted hood-mould runs over them without break, but following their head lines.

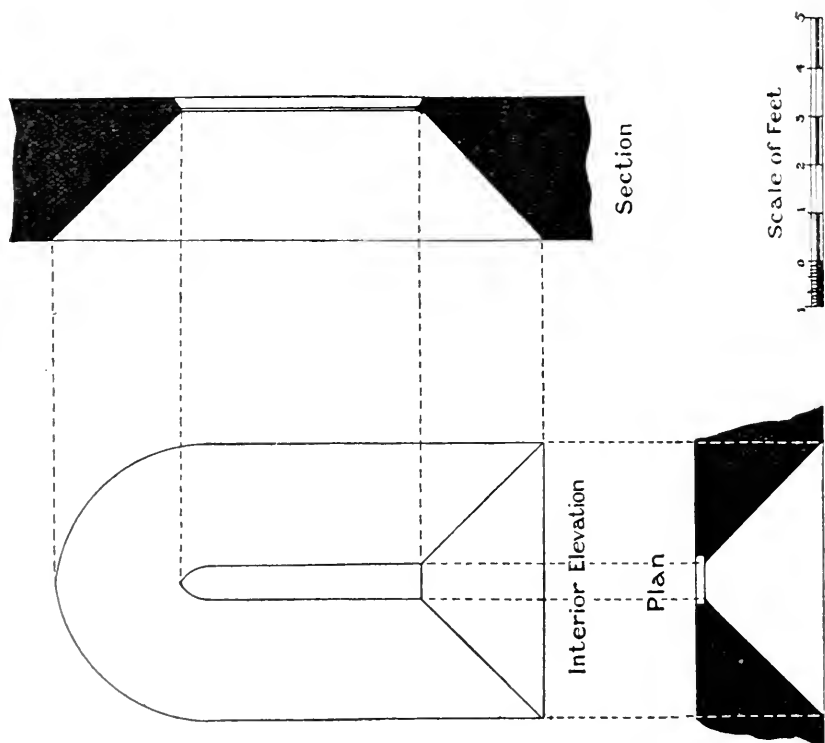


FIG. 4.—LANCET IN WESTERN WALL.

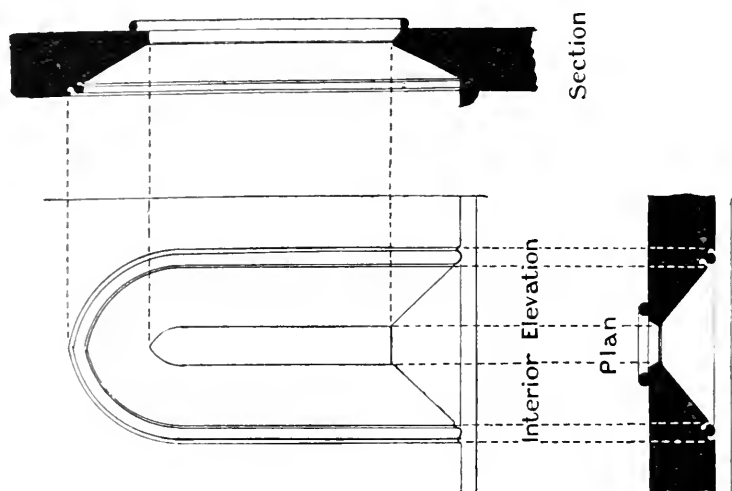


FIG. 5.—LANCET IN EASTERN WALL.

Externally they also have a bold roll-moulding running continuously round their outer faces, but not shafted; and the unbroken hood-mould is repeated here also. A characteristic string runs immediately beneath these windows internally (Plate XII, No. 4), and a similar one rises from it round the handsome well-moulded arch of two orders with which the south nave aisle opens into the transept: on the eastern wall this string starts at a higher level to clear the top of the vestry doorway.

The probable former existence of eastern windows and altars in this transept cannot now be confirmed, as the wall is plastered internally, and the organ occupies the chief part of it; but a small early doorway leads from it into the vestry now, though originally it was probably an entrance from without; for although the vestry stands on the site of an old chantry chapel, these were not usually founded so early as the date of this transept and doorway in question.¹

The chancel-arch, belonging to this period, is of rather unusual proportions, the piers being very short relatively to the height and breadth of the arch from the springing.²

It is of three orders, the inner being in accordance with those of the arcade in the north transept, merely deeply chamfered, while the outer has bold roll-mouldings, adorned with fillets on the eastern side, but without them on the western.

PART III.

ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Having now noted the detail of all the existing parts of the church which belong to its early complete form, it remains to consider those portions in which the work of succeeding generations is seen.

¹ One at Lincoln (1235) is the earliest known, and very few are as early as that. See Mr. Bond's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 295.

² Height of piers from floor to top of

abacus, 8 feet 3 inches. The arch they carry is in width at spring 12 feet 10 inches, and in height, from spring, about 11 feet 6 inches or 12 feet.

We find that shortly after the completion of the church

“Sir Robert Mandivel gave the advowson, in 1224, to Bishop Jocelyn of Wells; and sixteen years later, on Xmas Day, 1240, a fresh arrangement was made, by which the great tithes were to be divided between the canons of the new church at Salisbury and the canons of Wells, but the patronage of the vicarage which was thus ordained, was to remain with the bishop of Wells. It is to this appropriation of the great tithes to the canons of Wells and Salisbury, that the place owes its distinguishing name of *Whitechurch canonicorum*.¹”

There is no evidence of any work having been required in the church after this, for a hundred years; but before 1350 evidently repairs became necessary in the north transept, when the upper part of the north wall either actually fell, or threatened to do so, carrying with it the arcade arch over the shrine (Plate XI, No. 1), the columns bearing it having also narrowly escaped destruction, to judge from the amount of spread which has taken place in those on the eastern side of the shrine.² Either enthusiasm or funds for the church had shrunk at this time to a very limiting extent, for the arch was not replaced, and the three-light window inserted in the renewed north wall is meagre as regards mouldings, though the tracery is of characteristic transitional, curvilinear design. This north wall of the transept is now considerably out of the perpendicular. (Plate XV, No. 1.) Also, in the same period, probably during the same repairs, the southern lancet window in the east wall of this same transept was replaced by a two-light one, of an early and common type of geometric design.³ The relieving arch over the adjoining lancet, visible externally in Plate V, No. 3, may have been inserted also at this time to assist in preserving that part of the transept from further disruption.

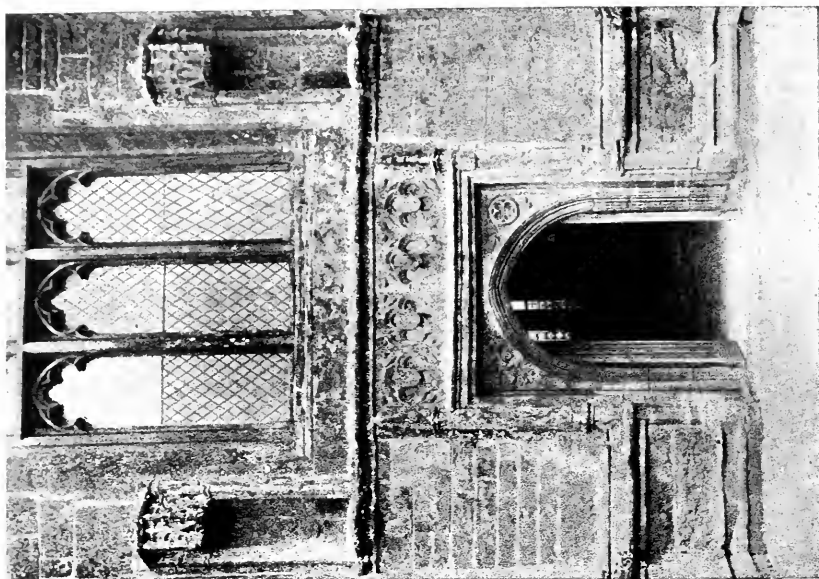
Internally, the enlargement and alteration of the southern window obliged the string-course to be lowered in the south bay, but it regains its original level when once past this later window. These repairs and alterations represent

¹ See Mr. C. Druitt's paper (1898) *supra*.

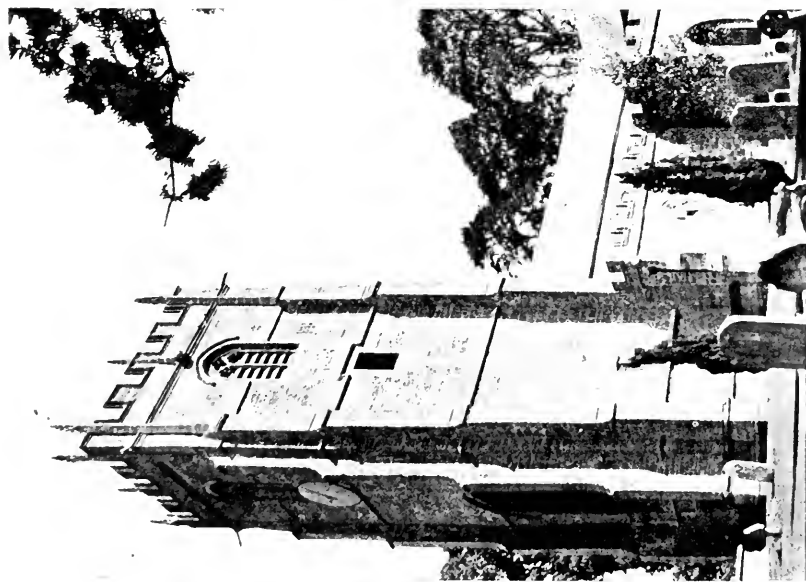
² The southern arch of this wall-arcade on the east wall of the transept was evidently in danger of sharing the same fate, as a rupture in both the inner and outer orders of it near the top is

now very observable. (See Plate IX, No. 1.)

³ See p. 31. Cf. North Creak, Chesham Bois, Bucks, north chancel window. St. Albans, south nave-aisle windows (c. 1340). North windows of Weaver's Chapel. Temple Church, Bristol.



NO. 2.—WEST DOORWAY.



NO. 1.—TOWER; FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

all the work now to be seen in the church of the fourteenth century ; but it is most probable that it was within that period that the chantry, adjoining the south side of the chancel and east of the south transept, was built. This may be inferred from a built-up doorway (now a cupboard in the vestry) which opened from it into the chancel, and which seems to belong to the fourteenth century.¹

The entrance of the fifteenth century, as in many other instances, brought with it fresh requirements and ideas. Whether or no a crossing-tower had formed part of the church before this, and had become unsafe or actually fallen, it was evidently considered desirable now to add a western one, after the fashion of the day, and the present fine specimen (Plate XIII, No. 1) is the work of the very first years of the fifteenth century.²

It is 75 feet high, inclusive of the embattled parapet, which is 5 feet in depth ; and including its buttresses, it covers 32 feet square. Plate XIII, No. 2, gives a view of its handsome west doorway with the fine base-course. The large transomed west window as it now stands is not the original one.

The curious carved stones embodied in the tower have given rise to much conjecture, and are commonly believed to have belonged to some earlier structure ; but of this there is no conclusive evidence. In many respects they resemble external carved stones, or panels, of ascertained date in other buildings, and might be contemporary with the tower itself, though one inserted in the south aisle wall suggests an earlier date by its subject. The position of some of these stones is seen in Plate XIII, No. 1. That immediately over the small square window has a ship, and axe or pick, carved on it ; the ship is very archaic in form, much resembling those by which the Church was symbolically represented in early Christian times ; but this is not such a proof of antiquity as might be supposed,

¹ In the third edition of Hutchins it is stated, "The continuator of Hutchins adds, 'The family of Floyers had a kind of aisle, or rather square tower adjoining to the south side of the chancel, which was used as their burying place. It was pulled down about sixteen years since, and three large flat stones are laid upon the spot with the name of Floyer upon

them.' " This was probably the same building as the destroyed chantry.

² When, in 1899, it was found necessary to underpin the tower at the south-west angle, it was discovered that though not without very massive foundations their stones had been bedded in clay instead of mortar!

for we find, on the exterior of Lane's Aisle in Cullompton Church (1520), among the many types of ships there carved, one of exactly the same type as this at Whitechurch. The other carved panel on the south face of the tower also bears two figures on it, a long-handled bill or reaping-hook, and an axe, though the latter is rather suggestive (in some lights) of an anchor stem, the lower part having been much fretted away; the long-handled pick occurs again on the north face of the tower. The carved stone placed between two windows of the south aisle (Plate XIV, No. 1) shows a two-handled covered vessel, which is generally believed to represent the Holy Grail; it is of the form commonly in use as a chalice up to the twelfth or thirteenth century.¹

At the same time as the building of the tower, the south porch was added (Plate XIV, No. 2) with its enormous and fearsome angle gargoyles, and its top-heavy battlements. This battlement, suitable enough to the massive tower, was also bestowed upon the south aisle,² which probably had its roof flattened during the same operations, and was strengthened by an angle-buttress. The porch is not vaulted; neither has it ever had a parvise. There is evidence also (as Mr. Druitt points out) of the rebuilding of part of the south transept wall at this period, probably merely to avoid a collapse, to which is due the irregular positions of its angle buttresses. In the western diagonal buttress is incorporated an old sun-dial, not very distinct now. Besides these additions and repairs, the transept arches were also rebuilt and enlarged and decorated with the fashionable panelling, in the same manner as the archway leading from the nave into the tower-chamber. The rood-loft also must have been added about this time, and though it has quite disappeared, yet the blocked-up doorway leading into it above is visible to the south of the chancel arch. The lower doorway and stair are now securely concealed behind much plaster, but would doubt-

¹ This last carving is executed on a block of deep yellow stone (perhaps Ham stone) much in use in Dorset, as in Sherborne, and Wimborne, but it is not the stone of which the main fabric of this church is built, that being of a grey tone. Other blocks of the yellow

stone are found in various portions of the walls, and one conspicuous specimen is seen internally, at the springing of one of the Norman nave-arches, where it is probably a repair.

² See page 127 respecting the wall of this aisle.



NO. 1.—S. AISLE, NAVE, WITH SCULPTURED STONE.



NO. 2.—SOUTH PORCH.

less be found within the wall between the south pier of the chancel-arch and the closed-up doorway in the vestry.

The main central roof of the nave has not been lowered from its original pitch, but that of the chancel seems to have been so, very slightly, judging by the weatherings to be seen on the eastern gable of the nave. Internally the nave, chancel, and transepts have a finely arched barrel or coved oak roof, closely ribbed transversely, but not decorated with any carved wall-plates, corbels, or bosses. It dates from about 1400.¹ The aisles have similarly ribbed lean-to wooden roofs, leaded externally, and of a very flat pitch, in neither case the original ones. Externally the nave roof has followed the rest of the building in its downward course to the west, and its consequent curvature and line of descent are strongly observable on the north side. The transept roofs are on a lower level than those of the nave.

With regard to the windows, excepting those already described in the north and south transepts, and north and south of the chancel, there are none that remain now as they left the hands of the mediaeval builders. Those of the south nave aisle may have been rebuilt during this period, but their present tracery is all modern work; they are rere-arched, with a slight internal drop; and those of the north aisle are of the same design, with the hood-mould omitted. The clerestory windows were only pierced in recent times (1849).

No stained glass of any interest exists in the church.

There is a great paucity of strings about the early work of the church. Internally, that in the nave above the pier-arcade, and those in the north and south transepts, are all that exist; and externally there are none at all remaining of the original building date. In the later period of building and repairing (early fifteenth century) one was inserted along the south aisle to match that of the new porch, when the battlemented parapet was added to it; and this was more or less badly copied, in the modern restoration of 1849, under the south transept south window, and below the plainly coped parapet of the new north aisle.

¹ For a long time it was covered with plaster and whitewash; this was removed in 1848.

Some internal features added from time to time still remain to be noticed: the linen panelling behind the choir stalls, finished with a handsomely carved cornice, and a few old carved bench ends, also on the choir-stalls, not remarkable in any way; also a carved Jacobean oak pulpit of a very ordinary design, which was for long concealed under many coats of yellow paint, until in 1848 these were carefully removed; it has since suffered varnishing, but has now been for some time relieved of this also.

The church plate includes one silver chalice of 1575, a second of 1678, and two old patens, of which one is curiously ornamented and is figured in a book on the church plate of the diocese.¹

The six bells are of various dates, three being of the seventeenth century, and the latest as recent as 1904. One bears the motto

| | | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|---------|-------|-----|--------|-------|
| ✠ | lebs | ois | plaudit | ut me | tam | sepius | audit |
|---|------|-----|---------|-------|-----|--------|-------|

Another (2) Give — Thanks — To — God (1641).

Another (4) Drawe — Neare — To — God (1603).

Another (5) Harke — When — I — Call — Come — to — Corch
— All — Come — To — Sarve — God — Or — Come —
Not — At — All (1669).

The modern bell bears as its motto

“Ring in the Christ that is to be” (1904).²

All brasses have disappeared, but the stone matrices of some are left in the flooring, one at the east end of the south aisle being particularly fine.

Mr. Stent, in his pamphlet, observes that

“One of the most striking features of the interior of the chancel is the highly decorated tomb of Sir John Jeffery of Catherstone, with the recumbent effigy of the knight, and overhead his casque. Close to it also is the smaller and less sumptuous but very effective tomb of John Wadham, also of Catherstone.”²

The famous Admiral, Sir George Sommers, who discovered the Bermudas, was buried here, but there is no tomb or memorial to him now existing.

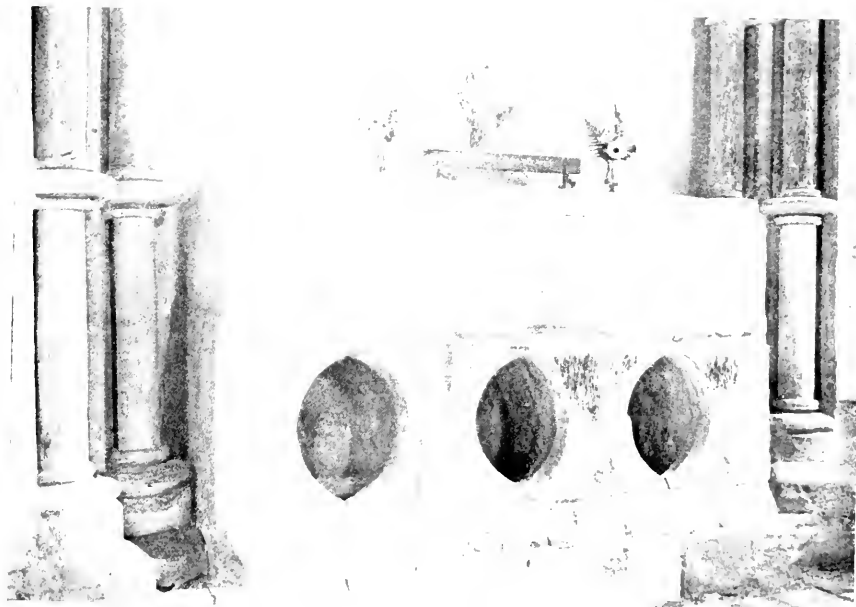
¹ See *Whitechurch Parish Mag.*, June, 1888.

² See pamphlet, *Points of Interest*

which a Visitor should Observe, by Rev. W. H. Stent, supplied in the church.



NO. 1.—EXTERIOR, VIEW OF EAST END.



NO. 2.—THE SHRINE OF ST. CANDIDA.

SUMMARY OF REPAIRS AND RESTORATIONS SUBSEQUENT
TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The numerous repairs, rebuildings and restorations which this church has undergone subsequently to the fifteenth century, to save its life, have been alluded to by the way, but may now be briefly summarised.

1738.—Rebuilding of westernmost arches of nave arcade.

Not improbably the now-vanished wooden galleries were put up at this time, and also the pews for which the bases of the north aisle piers were sawn away flat.

1847-9.—Sir William Palmer, vicar, rebuilt the chancel east wall and inserted the present window, copied from one in Oxfordshire; inserted a string-course in chancel; walled up the two chancel doors before mentioned; inserted the south window of the south transept; renewed nearly all the stone mullions of the windows; enlarged and renewed the tracery of the big west window; gave the church the present range of clerestory windows of geometric design, and pulled down the wall of the very narrow north aisle and replaced it by an aisle of between 9 and 10 feet in width; in rebuilding it he also made a north entrance which exhibits a timid and meaningless ogee point to its arched head. He also threw an internal flying buttress across the south aisle where some weakness was showing itself; and it was he who recovered the ancient font, and had the heavy wooden galleries and the plaster and white-wash from the oak roof removed.¹ Although not always with the best taste possible, he saved the church from impending ruin, for another fifty years at any rate, by the repairs he carried out.

1887-8.—The old lead of the central nave roof was removed and the present slating substituted. New flooring and seating were provided within the church, and the warming apparatus supplied; also the walls were cleaned.

1899.—In this year, bad cracks having appeared in the north transept west wall, and in the tower, and serious

¹ For these particulars I am indebted to Mr. Druitt's paper. Unfortunately, all the financial accounts and records of this restoration were burnt.

movement in the south pier of the chancel-arch, from want of foundations, it was reported by the inspectors that "underpinning with cement concrete down to a solid bottom" was necessary for these portions. Work was begun in December, 1899, and continued until the end of 1901, or later. The same underpinning was found to be necessary for the whole of the chancel walls, the south and west sides of the tower, and the two south-west piers, and was carried out by the firm of Merrick of Glastonbury, under Messrs. Christian Caroë and Purday, in conjunction with Mr. Ponting, the diocesan surveyor.

The settlement of the tower had then gone so far that, in Mr. Ponting's report of July, 1900, it was advised to cease all ringing of the bells. Twenty-six great bonding-stones and two steel girders were also introduced into its fabric. It was during these repairs that the old rood-loft doorway was uncovered, and so left.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT BADEN (SWITZERLAND) AND BREGENZ.¹

By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

In the year 1885 a paper by me appeared in the *Journal* of the Institute on the "Roman Antiquities of Switzerland."² It was an endeavour to give a general account of the subject, with special reference to inscriptions, roads and mosaics. On the present occasion, I shall confine my remarks for the most part to one locality, and to one class of remains found there.

Switzerland and Tirol are not good hunting-grounds for the classical antiquary; they contain no great buildings erected by the Romans, no temples or aqueducts, and but scanty remains of two amphitheatres. The former country has little to show in this department of archaeology, and the latter still less. It would seem that the masters of the civilised world never intended to reduce Rhaetia to a province of the empire. This would have cost them a large expenditure of blood and treasure, both in the first acquisition and in the permanent defence. They probably preferred that this region should be a kind of buffer-state on the German frontier, like Afghanistan between the Russians and ourselves. So may the paucity of Latin inscriptions and other monuments in Tirol and Vorarlberg be easily accounted for. In this respect also the case of the Decumates Agri, in the angle between the Rhine and Danube, is similar, since the period of Roman occupation extends only over one hundred years. However, even in these regions, we may here and there find some relic of antiquity that throws light on manners and customs, or serves to explain an author previously misunderstood.

The principal subject of this paper is the Roman military hospital at the Swiss Baden. By way of

¹ Read before the Institute 4th July, 1900. ² xlii, 171.

introduction to this hospital it is necessary to say a few words concerning Vindonissa,¹ a place in the same neighbourhood, which affords an argument *à priori* corroborative, if not convincing in itself. It was a garrison-town of great importance, and some provision would be almost necessary for invalided soldiers. The Romans had selected a military position, with their usual foresight, at the meeting of the rivers Aar, Reuss and Limmat, as in Lower Germany *Castra Vetera* (Xanten) was their chief station at the junction of the Rhine and Lippe; and *Moguntiacum* (Mainz), where the Main flows into the Rhine, was the strongest of all their fortresses north of the Alps. There can be no doubt that the permanent camp of Vindonissa was included in the great plan of defence (Tacit. *Ann.* IV, 5), which protected the Roman Empire against the attacks of Gauls and Germans. From this central town the legions could easily march northwards to *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg), or in the opposite direction maintain communications with the forces in Italy. Tacitus mentions Vindonissa twice in his narrative of those dark and dreadful days, when the nations on the Rhenish frontier, taking advantage of the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, rose in revolt, and endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke. The author's notices of Vindonissa (Windisch) are brief, but significant. We read in Tacitus² that when the winter-camps of the cohorts, cavalry and legions were overthrown and burnt, Vindonissa and *Moguntiacum* still held out; and that when events were beginning to take a favourable turn, the XXIst legion, reinforced by auxiliaries, advanced from Vindonissa into Upper Germany. These statements are abundantly confirmed by inscriptions, especially by those on tiles (*tegulae castrorum*).

Descending to the lower empire, we find this place again the scene of warfare. In A.D. 298 Constantius gained victories over the Alemanni at Langres, and soon afterwards at Windisch, where, according to Eumenius, the fields were filled with slaughtered enemies, and still covered with their bones when he delivered his Panegyric in the presence of Constantine, A.D. 310.³ It is also

¹ The name is preserved in Windisch, east of Basel.

² Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 61 and 70.

³ *Eum.* iii, 6.

stated¹ that Constantius attacked and defeated the Alemanni, under the walls of Langres, and afterwards *on the same day* at Windisch in Switzerland. This is impossible, because the towns are too remote from each other. The mistake seems to have been caused by carelessly reading a passage in Eutropius,² which refers only to the former place (Lingones). Again, in Gibbon, we meet with sentences which happily epitomise the history of the region we are now considering, and therefore deserve to be quoted. "Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa, the castle of Hapsburg, the abbey of Königsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquest, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom."³

Long ago it was well known that traces of an amphitheatre existed near the railway station of Brugg, at Windisch, which, even in Keller's large map of Switzerland, is marked as an insignificant village. So late as August, 1897, a local society undertook systematic excavations, which were continued until December of the same year. At the commencement of their labours, the workmen uncovered in a level field called the Breite (Broad) a temple of Mars, and the attribution was proved by a stone altar and five parts of votive tablets with dedicatory inscriptions. We need not wonder at the fragmentary character of these discoveries, for the ancient Vindonissa was the quarry from which later generations helped themselves. It furnished building materials for Altenburg, Brugg and the monastery of Königsfelden. The exploration of the amphitheatre began at the southwest corner, and together with small objects in bronze, glass and iron, a stamp of the twenty-first legion, surnamed *Rapax*, was found; its presence there is also proved by other monuments, for which see the collections compiled by Orelli and Mommsen. A contributor to the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*,⁴ states that this legion had its quarters in Lower Germany, but makes no

¹ *Traduction des Discours d'Eumène*, par M. L'Abbé Landriot et M. L'Abbé Rochet, Précis des faits généraux, p. 374.

² *Die una adversam et secundam*

fortunam expertus est. Eutrop. ix, 23.

³ Vol. iv, p. 349, cap. xxxviii, note 23, ed. Dr. William Smith.

⁴ Third ed., ii, 789 s.r. *Exercitus.*

mention of its being stationed in Switzerland. As the workmen dug trenches across the slopes and the low ground beneath, they met with many indications that the Roman settlement had been destroyed by a conflagration. The accounts of historians concerning invasions and ravages by barbarians were abundantly confirmed. By persevering efforts the walls on the south-west side of the structure with a semi-circular projection of double the usual thickness, and two rooms, were laid bare; here an object belonging to a good period of classical art rewarded the patient explorers; it is a silver bowl or patera 18 centimètres in diameter and 9 centimètres in depth; but the chief interest is connected with the highly ornamented handle (Plate I). In the upper part we see the bust of a Roman general, helmeted, and a large rosette on each side; his breast-plate is adorned with Medusa's head and below it a festoon consisting of flowers, grapes and other fruits. A statuette of Mercury, seated, occupies the narrower space immediately under the bust. He has the customary attribute, wings on his hat, holds the caduceus in the right hand, and rests the left on a bag for carrying money. On the left of Mercury there is a small figure of the kind called *Hermæ*, that is a head usually of this or another deity, sometimes Bacchus, surmounting a quadrangular pillar (*τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετραγώνον*). Two wild fowl appear at the feet of Mercury in different attitudes, one flying, the other standing. In the lowest compartment we find two goats between a palm-tree and an altar, also on the right and left of the handle, at the edge of the bowl, a fat ox approaching a low altar on which the sacrificial fire blazes. On the back of the handle we read an inscription:

O. CALVI. MERCATORIS. ANTO. SALONINI

Officina Calvi mercatoris, Antonini Salonini. (The workshop of the merchant Calvus, belonging to Antoninus Saloninus.¹)

¹ The inscription is given differently by Otto Hauser, p. 7. The abbreviation O or OF for *officina* frequently occurs both in our own and in foreign countries; many examples are given in the

Mémoires de la Société Éduenne, iii, Poterie Rouge Lustrée dite Samienne. Noms de Potiers, pp. 356-394, Planches des Inscriptions Céramiques, i-xi.



HANDLE OF SILVER BOWL FOUND AT VINDONISSA (WINDISCH).

Hence we have what the French numismatists call a *base solide* for chronology ; but the date is only approximate, not definite as in the large Roman imperial Brass, where the number of the *Tribunicia Potestas*, an annual office, fixes the year exactly. The names of the prince above mentioned are Publius Licinius Cornelius Valerianus Saloninus. He was son of the emperor Gallienus and Salonina, received the title of Caesar A.D. 253, and was put to death by Postumus, A.D. 259, when he was about seventeen years old. In our inscription he bears the name Antoninus, which I have not met with elsewhere, either in Gruter, Eckhel or Cohen. Perhaps it may have been assumed in this case, as Septimius Severus changed the name of his son from Bassianus to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

In the course of the summer few objects were found in the amphitheatre, but amongst them we may notice a probe and an alembic (*Brennkolben*), because they relate to our inquiry about a Roman hospital. The amphitheatre at Vindonissa, whose external diameters are 344 by 325 feet, would probably contain 10,000 spectators ; but it has been incorrectly described as next in size to the Colosseum, for those of Verona, Arles, Nîmes and Pola in their dimensions far exceed it. In some rooms adjoining the arena, bones of animals of very different kinds have been found, which leads us to suppose that they were cages for wild beasts that fought with men or with each other. This entertainment was called *venatio* ; it is often referred to by Latin authors, and has its best illustration, as far as I know, in the coloured plates of the grand mosaic at Nennig, published by Wilmowsky. The principal entrances were from the south-west and north-east, and the smaller ones from the north-west and south-east.

I have already hinted that Baden was a likely site for a Roman military hospital ; it was so on account of its proximity to Vindonissa, which had a garrison consisting of one legion and auxiliary cohorts, in all about 10,000 men besides the settlements of traders and other civilians (*canabae*) near the camp, as at Saalburg bei Homburg.¹

¹ Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, 112, 116.

Moreover, the mineral waters, good for rheumatism, sterility and other disorders, would have great attractions for a bath-loving people. We have seen Vindonissa mentioned twice in the *Histories* of Tacitus: the same work (I. 67) contains a description of Baden; he is relating the cruel ravages of Caecina, the Roman general, who revolted to Vitellius, and laid waste the adjacent country, plundering a place which in the course of a long peace had become like a municipal town, and to which many visitors resorted for the benefit of its salutary waters *ameno salubrium aquarum usu frequens*.¹ That gambling prevailed amongst them is proved by the dice so numerous that a field near Baden derives its name Würfen Wiese (dice-meadow) from the great quantity of *tesserae* dug up in it. The Helvetians, unable to resist the Roman legionaries and Rhaetian cohorts, fled for refuge to Mount Vocetius,² the modern Bötzbürg, a few miles west of Brugg on the railway from Zürich to Basel.

For the ancient name of Baden we have sometimes only *Aquae*, but also *Aquae (Thermæ) Helveticæ* or *Verbigenæ*. The latter appellation is somewhat doubtful. Caesar, who says that Helvetia is divided into four cantons,³ only gives the names of two, *Tigurinus* and *Verbigenus*; some commentators read *Urbigenus*,⁴ and connect it with *Urba*, now *Orbe*, near Yverdun at the south-west end of the Lake of Neuchâtel. Baden is on the Roman military road from Vindonissa to Vitodurum (Oberwinterthur)⁵ where many coins and antiquities have been found.⁶

In 1872-74, when the Kurhauspark was laid out, traces of Roman occupation appeared; in 1891-92 during the construction of the Protestant minister's house, a large block of buildings was discovered; iron and bronze objects had previously been disinterred, many of them very valuable and in good preservation. Herr Meyer observed that along certain lines grass and young trees would not

¹ For the use of these salutary waters in the fifteenth century, see *Pogii Florentini De Balneis prope Thuregum silis Descriptio* (with French translation, 1876). Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, edit. Bohm, 60-C2; and 484, note 21.

² Tacitus, *ibid.* 68.

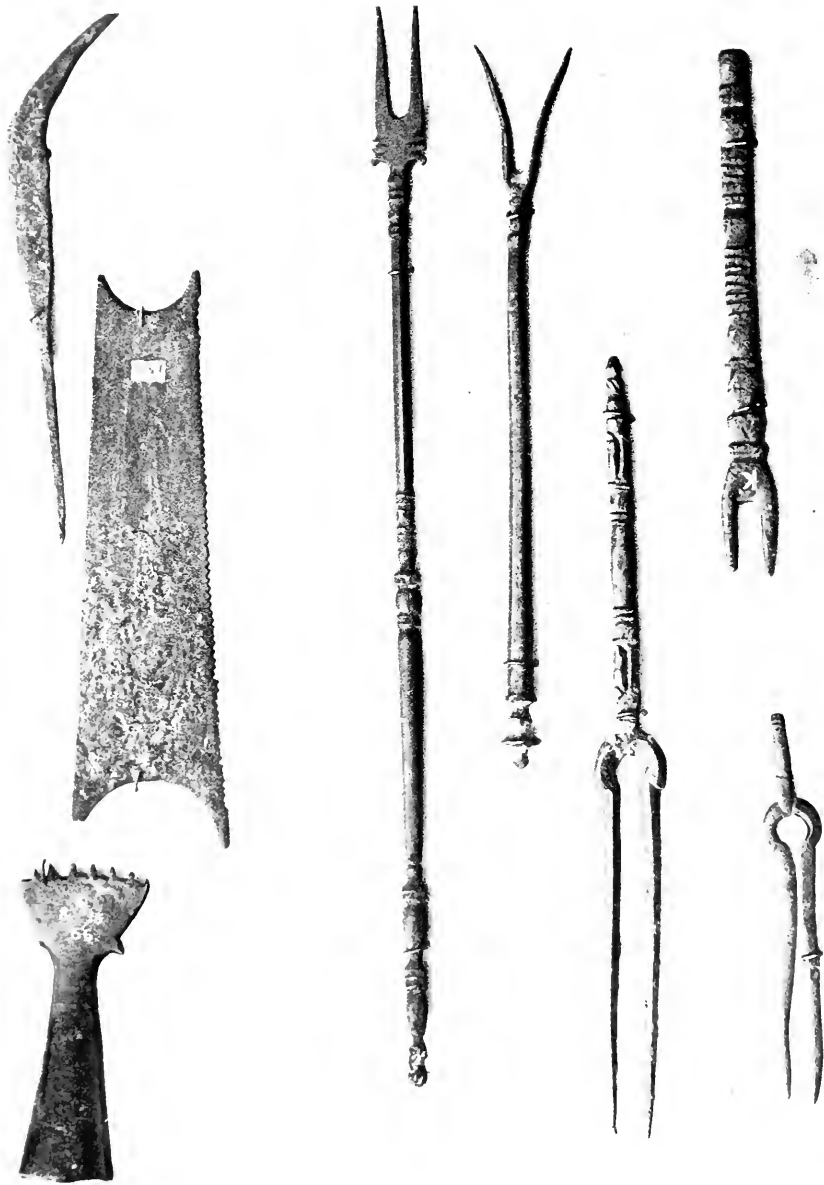
³ *Bell. Gall.* I. xii.

⁴ Compare *ibid.* xxvii.

⁵ *Itiner. Antonini*, Wesseling, 251.

⁶ See the map appended to Mommsen's collection of Swiss Latin inscriptions, *Tabula qua indicantur Confoederationis Helveticæ loci in quibus tituli Latini reperti sunt*; and my paper in the *Archæological Journal*, xlii, 208.

To face page 157.



EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

grow, hence he inferred that there might be stone-work underneath. The digging commenced in March, 1893; four walls of a large room were laid bare; two were 12·5 mètres long, the other two 10·35 mètres long. The workmen found earthenware marked with names of manufacturers, fragments of pottery, fibulae, and two amphorae entire; but medical and surgical instruments were the most interesting results which the excavations yielded; 120 probes (*specilla*), small bone spoons, spatulas, alembics, a piece of a catheter and a forceps that would grasp well. Later on, the interior was thoroughly searched, and two balances were brought to light, apparently used for weighing drugs, with scales saucer-shaped, so that the contents would not fall out. Salves of lead ointment, and mirrors, like those now in use for looking at the throat, also point to the conclusion that a Roman hospital was here.

Examples of representative ancient surgical instruments now in the British Museum are shown in Plate II.

The building was of considerable extent, as it contained fourteen rooms varying from 27 to 3 mètres in length. Pedestals of columns still remain, which seem to prove that the façade was adorned with a portico. Copper coins of Claudius, Nero and Domitian, silver coins of Vespasian and Hadrian were found, which assist us in determining the date. With this evidence an inscription coincides, mentioning the Vindonissenses and the year A.D. 79, when Vespasian died and Titus succeeded—remarkable for the eruption of Vesuvius in which the elder Pliny perished.

Among the instruments collected at Baden in the course of explorations, as far as I know, a cupping-glass does not appear, but we see it represented on the reverse of a coin of Epidaurus, with the head of Aesculapius on the obverse;¹ its shape corresponds with an original in the British Museum. This object illustrates the lines of Juvenal:

Quum facias pejora senex, vacuumque cerebro
Iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat.

Satire XIV. 57,

which in the use of the word *ventosa* show a wrong conception of the action of the *cucurbita*, the blood being

¹ British Museum, *Gr. Coins Peloponnesus*, 157, plate xxix, No. 15.

extracted by means of a partial vacuum, not by a current of air. Celsus¹ devotes a whole chapter to the use of the *cucurbita*, "In *aeneam* linamentum ardens conjicitur, ac sic os ejus corpori aptatur, impriniturque donec inhaereat." The method was evidently the same as that employed by surgeons in the earlier part of the last century.²

Epigraphy supplies good illustrations of a Roman military hospital; one may be fitly cited here; it was found on an altar at Lambèse (N. Africa) in the camp of a legion, near the praetorium, and is now deposited in the Cabinet des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris.³

DOMVI
DIVINAE
AVGG^g
a. 209/211
L. CAECILI
VS VRBA
NVS OPT
VAL CVRO
PERIs ARM
POSVIT

AVGG^g:—the three Augusti (if G is rightly supplied) here mentioned are Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta, who were associated with him in the empire. Vv 6–8 may be expanded thus: OPTio VALETUDINARIi CVRATOR OPERI(s) ARMAMENTARIi. The officer who erected this altar seems to have been vice-centurion, director of the hospital, and master of the ordnance. But there is some doubt about armamentarii, as it would be difficult to find an example where it occurs with this meaning (ordnance). Orelli, *Inscr.*, No. 3476, ARM, ARMCV, perhaps to be read *armorum custos*. *Optio* is masculine here, and must not be confounded with *optio* feminine, choice, option. The former word (used as

¹ *De Medicina* lib. ii, cap. xi.

² Compare *Real Museo Borbonico*, Vol. xiv, Tav. xxxvi, pp. 1–17, Bernedetto Vulpes. *Strumenti di Chirurgia (in bronzo) trovati in Ercolano ed in Pompei*, Vol. xv, Tav. xxiii, pp. 1–5, Bernardo Quaranta. Some of the attributions have been disputed. Overbeck's *Pompeii*, 2nd ed., Vol. ii, p. 8, gives an account of three chemists' shops in this city, tablets, pills, fluids in glass bottles dried up, a medicine chest of bronze with compartments and

a drawer under it, also a spoon for ointment, and a small porphyry plate on which it could be rubbed; *ibid.* p. 88, fig. 278. *Chirurgische Instrumente, Bauliche Ueberreste von Brigantium*, von Conservator Dr. Samuel Jenny. The surgeon's house with figures of probes and of a small spoon from which the handle is broken off.

³ C.I.L. *Inscriptiones Africae Procon-sularis et Numidia*, Vol. viii, Pars. i, p. 296, No. 2563, edit. G. Wilmanns.

a military technical term) has been improperly translated by *adjutant*. In the monument of *Maurus Caelius*, who fell in the defeat of *Varus*, found near *Xanten* in 1633, and now preserved in the museum at *Bonn*, *OPTIO* has been proposed as a conjectural restoration, and very plausibly.¹

An inscription at *Wettingen*, near *Baden*, is interesting, as it serves to explain another, which, though spurious, has become celebrated, because a great poet has surrounded it with the halo of his genius. I refer to *Lord Byron's Child Harold*, Canto III, stanza xvi :

And there—oh! sweet and sacred be the name!—
 Julia—the daughter, the devoted—gave
 Her youth to Heaven; her heart, beneath a claim
 Nearest to Heaven's, broke o'er a father's grave.
 Justice is sworn 'gainst tears, and hers would crave
 The life she lived in; but the judge was just,
 And then she died on him she could not save.
 Their tomb was simple, and without a bust,
 And held within their urn one mind, one heart, one dust.

The epitaph appears in *Gruter* as follows :²

Aventici
 IVLIA · ALPINULA · HIC · IACEO
 INFELICIS · PATRIS · INFELIX · PROLES
 DEAE · AVENT · SACERD
 EXORARE · PATRIS · NECEM · NON · POTVI
 MALE · MORI · IN · FATIS · ILLI · ERAT
 VIXI · ANNOS · XXIII
 a Paulo Guil. Lipsius

Paul Wilhelm was a notorious forger, and in the *Quarterly Review*,³ he is said to have fabricated this inscription from a passage in *Tacitus*,⁴ where the author relates that, after the surrender of *Aventicum* (*Avenches*), the Roman general *Caecina* inflicted capital punishment upon *Julius Alpinus*, one of the leading chiefs, as having caused the *Helvetian* revolt. But this is only a part of the truth, for *Wilhelm* made use also of the above-mentioned inscription at *Wettingen*, which *Mommsen* has carefully edited, after examining the plaster-cast in the

¹ Baumcister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii., 2050, *Art. Waffen*. Orelli, *Inscr.* No. 3162, *OPTIO VALETVDI. OPTIO ARCA* ii., 105, note 2, *De Optt. valetudinariis*

et arcariis, vide *Reines*, *Inscr.* 12 and 11.

² Vol. i, p. cccxix, no. 10.

³ June, 1846, lxxviii, 61.

⁴ *Tacit. Hist.* i, 68.

Zürich Museum and the stone itself; it is numbered 241, s.v. Aquae. Compare two other inscriptions, 154, 155 Mommsen, *op. cit.*

DEAE ISIDI TEMPLVM A SOL^o
 L ANNVSIVS MAGIANVS
 DE SVO POSVIT VIK AQVENS^B
 AD CVIVS TEMPLI ORNAMENTA
 ALPINIA ALPINVLA CONIVNX
 ET PEREGRINA FIL X C DEDE
 RVNT & L . D . D . VICANORVM

In v. 3 Hagenbuch, following Scaliger, read VIR AQVENS B, and explained these words by *Sexvir Aquensis bis*—here Mommsen has improved on his predecessors, “vikaniis Aquensibus legendum.” For the inconsistency in VIK and VICANORVM, he refers to Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli arrali scolpiti già in tavola di marmo*, p. 29 seq. With the last line compare Orelli, No. 1,693 LOCO D.D.D., where we should notice that LOCO occurs *in extenso*. D.D.D = dato Decurionum decreto; the decuriones were the senate of municipia and the colonies. This title does not find place in the Wettingen inscription; the omission is significant, and the words VIK and VICANORVM agree with the historian's statement¹ “*in modum municipii extructus locus*,” which implies that Aquae (Baden) was not a free city, governed by its own laws, but a town of lower rank, only a *vicus*. So we have here one of those undesigned coincidences which furnish the strongest arguments to confirm our faith in ancient history.²

Notices of the Brigantii in Greek and Latin authors are few and meagre. This need not cause us any surprise, if we remember that they occupied territory on the borders of the Empire, far remote from the seat of government, and that the Romans must have regarded the Keltic population of this region as aliens in race and language, savages or at best semi-barbarous. Ptolemy places Brigantium near the source of the Rhine; but Strabo couples it with Campodunum (*hodie* Kempten), a city of Vindelicia, which extended from the south-east of

¹ Tacit, *loc. cit.*

² Compare Paley, *Horæ Paulinae*, edit. 1805, Exposition of the Argument, pp. 1-19, where the word *undesignedness*

occurs twice; chap. ii contains the first example taken from the Epistle to the Romans and the Acts of the Apostles.

Baden to north Tirol, and included the north-east of Switzerland. I need scarcely add that the latter opinion is correct; the modern name Bregenz would be itself almost sufficient to prove it. This city, on account of its advantageous position, must have become important at an early period. It had communication by water on the lake of Constance, and by road (1) with Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) through Campodunum; (2) with Argentoratum (Strasburg) through Fines and Rauraci (Augst); (3) with Mediolanum (Milan) through Curia (Coire) and Comum. Moreover, the Roman fortress at Brigantium commanded the entrance of the valley by which the Rhine issues from the mountains of Switzerland. The connection with other cities is well shown by the Peutinger Table, ed. Konrad Miller, *e.g.*, *seg.* III, 5, Brigantio, Arbor Felix X, Ad fines, XXI, the second and third places being stations on the Roman military road, south of that river and nearly parallel to it.¹ This Brigantium must not be confounded with another in Gaul, modern Briançon, Department of the High Alps, where the roads branch (1) west, through Grenoble to Vienne, (2) through Embrun (Ebrodunum) to Gap (Vapincum).

My information concerning the antiquities of Bregenz is derived partly from a visit to the place and inspection of the museum there, partly from a sketch of its Keltic and Roman history by Dr. Karl Ludwig, but especially from the numerous contributions of Dr. Samuel Jenny to the Series usually called *K.K. Central-Commission*, published at Vienna; these memoirs, containing an account of his researches, profusely illustrated, are indispensable, and in themselves constitute a monument of erudition, an important work of labour and skill. He, *indefessus agendo*, has not only at his own expense made costly excavations, but also presented most of the objects found to the Vorarlberg provincial museum at Bregenz.

There can be little doubt that the Romans built their earlier town on the site now occupied by the Alt- or Oberstadt; the coins discovered there, the position being easily defensible, and the remains of ancient fortifications,

¹ See Dr. Jenny's essay, *Die Römische Heerstrasse Brigantium—Ad Rhenum*, with plate, ground plan, elevation, etc.

all point to this conclusion. Lindau, within sight of Bregenz, was also in their possession, and according to some authorities the island on which it is built formed the base of operations for the naval war of Tiberius against the Vindelici, which Strabo expresses by the word *ὄρμητήριον*. Thus the Romans had the east end of the Bodensee under their control. Proceeding in a westerly direction we come to Arbon, Romanshorn and Constance, the names of which are significant. The first town was under the Empire, Arbor Felix, mentioned above, and the castle is said to rest on Roman foundations: the second, opposite Friedrichshafen, was Cornu Romanorum; the third speaks sufficiently for itself; this city was founded as a fortress by Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, about A.D. 304. Seeing that the greatest military nation of antiquity held all these strong positions for centuries, and that once at least, as recorded by a trustworthy writer, it launched a flotilla on these waters and crossed them, we may go further and say, without fear of contradiction, that the Bodensee, at all events for strategical purposes, became a Roman lake.

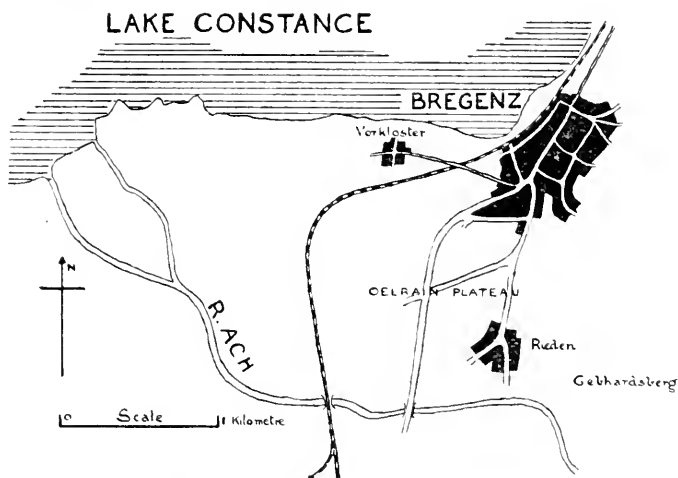
A plan of Brigantium Municipium (Plate III) and a rough sketch map of the environs accompany this paper.¹ Unfortunately they do not show differences of altitude, but they enable us to appreciate the results obtained by the indefatigable explorer to whom we are so deeply indebted. The Roman military road is shown, leading in one direction to the Rhine, in the other to Campodunum, and describing a great curve through the town inhabited by civilians: this road was discovered at a depth of 20 to 60 centimètres below alluvial deposits of the river, with a breadth of 7.5 to 9.5 mètres. An earlier road, which took a slightly different line indicated on the plan by the position occupied by the numbers 1, 2 and 3, had been abandoned on account of a conflagration, which left many débris not removed; the new road was carried over them, and the soil was consequently raised by this accumulation. So in modern Rome, for the same reason, it is not easy to recognise

¹ The plan is adapted from one which appeared in the *Beilage zur Seite 107 der Mittheilungen der K.K. CentralCom-*

mission für Kunst und hist. Denkmäler, Jahrgang 1898, Seite 157.

all the seven hills (*Septimontium*) mentioned by ancient authors.

No less than fifty-three Roman buildings are enumerated by Dr. Jenny; only the most important and some of the details are shown on the accompanying plan. In passing, No. 17, the *Canabenses*, may be noted, the settlements of artisans, retail-traders, workmen and innkeepers, such as usually accompany a permanent *castrum*: a good example is to be seen at Saalburg, which deserves to be cited, because it has been described by Jacobi more fully than any Roman camp by other writers, and because, on account of its proximity to Homburg, it is easily accessible to English travellers.



ROUGH SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE ENVIRONS OF MODERN BREGENZ.

In the Oberstadt or upper town, in addition to the remains shown on the inset plan, a monument to Drusus was found. This relic of antiquity, now deposited in the museum, consists of a single slab of local sandstone 1 mètre in height and breadth, and contains the earliest inscription at Bregenz, which has also an historical interest. The letters still extant are

. . VSO. TIB. F . . . ESARI

Expansion = Druso Tiberii Filio Caesari. The Drusus here mentioned, son of Tiberius, must not be confounded with the elder Drusus, brother of that emperor. In

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

The solid lines represent Roman remains.

The dotted lines show modern features.

REMAINS IN THE OELRAIN DISTRICT OF BREGENZ.

No. on Plan.

1. Country villa with courts, barns, stables and living rooms
bases of pillar in front of one-half of the building.
2. Large dwelling house with shops and store houses in front,
family living rooms in the rear, bases of pillars along
the whole front.
3. Public building with colonnades in front and round the sides
of the court in rear, devoted perhaps to commerce or
to justice and administrative business.
4. Store house (horreum) or market with small square dwelling
in rear for the officials attached thereto.
5. Public Baths :—(*a*) open court with colonnade in rear ;
(*b*) heating apparatus ; (*c*) ambulatio. The block of build-
ings between 5 (*c*) and 5 (*b*) were the baths proper
with separate rooms for men and women.
6. Posting stage house (?) with portico and great gates.
7. Villa of some great man with baths attached.
8. Forum with portico and steps in front, immediately behind
which stood a large monument with bronze statues.
In the rear, hall and administrative offices for use in
the cold season.
9. Colonnade of a temple or scola (?)
- 10, 11. Dwelling houses with shops in front, the rear serving as a
residence.
12. Temple. The small building in the middle of the court is
the temple podium with steps, immediately in front
of which stood the altar.
13. Great sepulchral monuments.
14. Minor monuments, burial ground and ustrina. (The small
lines and dots represent spots on which skeletons were
found.)
15. Large country house with workshop for fullers and cellar
with stables and outbuildings ; a pergola ran round one
side of the house.
16. Hospitium.
17. Industrial quarter of Brigantium.
18. Country house.

REMAINS IN THE OBERSTADT OR UPPER TOWN (inset plan).

19. Remains of castrum wall.
20. Baths of a villa built in front of castrum wall.
21. Site of Epona sculpture over gate.



REMAINS OF BRIGANTIUM MUNICIPIUM

ON THE OELRAIN PLATEAU NEAR BREGENZ



ROMAN REMAINS IN THE
UPPER TOWN OF BREGENZ

praise of the latter, Horace wrote one of his finest odes,¹ comparing the Roman prince to the eagle that carried off Ganymede, and referring to his campaigns in Rhaetia and Vindelicia, which might lead to the mistake :

Videre Rhaetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici ;

Drusus the younger was sent by Tiberius into Illyricum, and promoted dissensions among the Germans on the principle of the motto "Divide and conquer"; the inscription corresponds with the statements of historians.²

The Epona-relief (No. 21 on the inset) plan, represents the goddess between two colts, as she appears in sculptures found on the Boundary or *Limes Transrhœnarus et Transdanubianus*. For many centuries the original remained at the entrance to the old town: it is now in the Vorarlberg museum and has been replaced by a modern imitation.

We have also an inscription on a votive altar of Mercury beginning

IN Honorem Domus Divinae
DEO MERCURIO
ARCECIO ;

where we may notice the combination of a Keltic with a Latin name of a deity, which is not uncommon. It proves the disposition of the Romans to identify the gods of other nations with their own. Similarly, *Cumulus* was considered to be the same as *Mars*, and *Cumulodanum* (Colchester) is equivalent to *Areiopagus*, Mars Hill in the Authorised Version. In Bregenz itself we find a dedication

DJS DEABVSQ = diis deabusque,

without any proper name, indicating a kind of cosmopolitan pantheism, which must have presented great obstacles to the spread of Christianity, a new religion that claimed universal and uncompromising supremacy.

A leaden plate was found in a lady's grave inscribed on both sides. The subject is a *defixio* or imprecation. The outside is deciphered by Zangemeister as follows :

¹ Lib. IV, iii.

² See the *Stemma Caesarum*, No. 70 in Brotier's edition of Tacitus, and the

Index to this author, edit. Orelli or Hahn.

Domitius Niger et / (L) ollius et Julius Severus et Severus Nigr
serus (servus), adve(rs)ari(i) Bruttæ, et quisquis adve/rsus il(l)am
loquit(us est) : omnes / perdes.

In a prayer of this kind the deceased implored the vengeance of the infernal deities against his or her adversaries. Of such enchantments the most remarkable example is that relating to Germanicus, mentioned by Tacitus,¹ who uses *derotio* as equivalent to *deficio*.

Roman inscriptions at Bregenz extend from the reign of Tiberius to Valerian, A.D. 253–259, but coins are found there over a still longer period, from Augustus to Theodosius, B.C. 14—A.D. 395. Some pieces struck by Albinus, Otacilia, wife of Philip, Carinus and Decentius, are rare. However, a more interesting discovery has been made in a neighbouring turf-bog called Lauteracher Ried, near the west of the town and in the same direction as the Roman road to Arbor Felix. Twenty-four denarii and three Gallic quinarii were found, together with some silver ornaments, also of Gallic *provenance*. All the Roman coins belong to the republican period, from the earliest silver mintage in the year B.C. 269 till Sulla's time. One of the gens Titinia, instead of X = 10 ases, bears XVI., i.e., 16 ases, belonging to the year B.C. 167, A. U. C. 587. In this series nineteen families are represented; Pomponia shows *nummi serrati*, i.e., with edges notched, the kind of money which, according to Tacitus, the Germans preferred.

The contents of the museum are by no means interesting from an aesthetic point of view; so far were the inhabitants from producing anything beautiful that they seem not to have had even the taste to import such objects. A statuette of Mercury without the usual attributes, represented as the patron of pugilists, a double figure in which Mercury and Maia (or perhaps Rosmerta) are combined, and a small Venus of potter's clay—these are all the works of art which the collection can show. On the other hand, it abounds in terra-cotta and glass vessels, amphoræ, lamps, so-called lachrymatories, and articles of ordinary use, of iron, bronze, bone and ivory. The stamps on earthenware indicate well-known firms, and among

¹ *Annals*, ii, 69.

them some have been traced to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), which was famed for its ceramic industry.

Brigantium, on account of its geographical position, was a commercial centre rather than a military station. For a long time it had only an auxiliary cohort within its walls, and at a late period, under the emperor Marcus Aurelius, a part of the Third Italian legion was transferred thither, and with these troops some marines of the fleet that held the Bodensee were associated, for we read in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (a kind of Army List) *Praefectus numeri barcariorum Confluentibus sive Brecentiae*.

NOTE.—In compiling this paper, I have made use of two pamphlets: *A Roman Military Hospital*, published at Zürich n.d., kindly lent to me by Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., and *Das Amphitheater Vindonissa*, Zürich, 1898.

The student of Roman antiquities in Switzerland should not fail to consult Otto Hauser, *Vindonissa: Das Standortquartier Römischer Legionen nach seinen Ausgrabungen in Wort und Bild dargestellt*. Zürich, Polygraphisches Institut, 4°, 22 pp. 58 plates, 4 in colours, 1904, favourably noticed in the *Revue Archéologique*, Sept.–Oct. 1906, p. 334. This important work contains the best account I have ever read of an excavation of ancient monuments. The text gives the most minute details; the illustrations are numerous and admirably executed, especially plates 60 and 61, which show fragments of glass-work.

I am much indebted to the kindness of the Editor, Mr. G. D. Hardinge-Tyler, for the preparation of maps of Brigantium and the explanation of the localities.

ON SOME ALABASTER SCULPTURES OF NOTTINGHAM WORK.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

At the monthly meeting of the Institute on 9th April, 1907, there were exhibited, by Mr. E. Herbert Fison and the Rev. E. S. Dewick respectively, two alabaster tables and a series of little alabaster images of more than usual interest, owing to their excellent state of preservation and the considerable remains of the original colouring. As they seem, on this account, to deserve more than a mere passing notice, I have thought it desirable to describe them in detail.

The larger of Mr. Fison's tables (Plate I) measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width, and is of the second half of the fifteenth century.

It apparently belongs to one of a series of panels representing *Te Deum*, and consists of two rows of figures, an upper and a lower.

The lower series consists of a pope, a cardinal, a king, and an archbishop, standing in a row one behind the other and all facing one way, towards the left. The pope is shown wearing an amice (out of which hangs the hood, incorrectly painted red, of the grey amice he wears underneath, over his surplice), girded albe, quire cope, and tiara, and holding in his left hand a double-barred cross; his right hand is raised in blessing. The edges of his amice-apparel, albe, and cope, are gilt, as are his girdle, cope-brooch, tiara, and staff, and likewise his hair; the cope is lined with red, which is also the colour of the sandals. The cardinal stands somewhat in the background, and wears apparently a long red gown, a red hood edged with gold which is drawn over the head, and above that a broad-brimmed red hat with a green knob or tassel on top, and two long hanging cords or strings of the same colour; the cords are conjoined at the ends by a golden sliding ball and finished with tassels. The king is arrayed in a long tunic to the ankles, with a deep gold border and a golden girdle, a white mantle and a short tippet with hood; both tippet and mantle are



ALABASTER TABLE WITH PART OF A *TE DEUM*
in the possession of Mr. E. Herbert Fison.

edged with gold, and the lining of the latter and the hood are painted red. On the head is a golden crown, in the left hand a sceptre (the upper half broken away), and in the right a large ring. The hair and beard are gilt, and the pointed shoes painted dark green or black. From the prominence given to this kingly figure, and the ring in his hand, he is clearly intended for St. Edward the Confessor. The archbishop, who may be St. Thomas of Canterbury, wears an amice, albe, white tunicle or dalmatic, white chasuble with gold pall, gloves, a golden mitre, and black sandals; in his left hand he holds a tall gold cross, and the right hand is raised in blessing. From the neck is suspended a gold reliquary, or what may be a brooch. The amice-apparel and chasuble are bordered with gold and lined with red, but the albe and tunicle are edged with brown. The hair is gilt.

Of the upper series of figures little more than the heads and shoulders appear above the lower group. The figure above the pope is a bishop, apparently vested like him, and wearing a gold mitre; his hands are upraised in prayer or adoration, and hold between them his crosier, but the crook of this is broken away. Behind him is a tonsured clerk in a white gown, white tippet edged with red, and a red hood edged with gold and lined with green. The hands are apparently upraised in prayer or adoration, and the hair is gilt. The third figure apparently wears a white gown or tippet, with a green hood, but the head is broken away. The hands are uplifted like the figure before him. The last figure has also lost his head; an amice-apparel shows that he was in orders.

The ground on which the figures stand is coloured green with the usual groups of spots, each formed of a red one encircled by six white; the background is simply gilt.

The figures are all wrought in bold relief, and unusually well modelled. They also exhibit the peculiarity of having the eyeballs drilled with small holes to indicate the pupil and iris, which are generally shown in colours.

Owing to the amount of gold and painted decoration which has been preserved, this table has a brightness about it that is usually lacking.

On the back are five plug holes for the wire fastenings for holding the table in place in the reredos of which it formed part.

Mr. Fison's smaller panel (Plate II) is somewhat earlier than the other. It is 12 inches high and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and represents Our Lord's Ascension.

In front is a group of six kneeling figures, arranged in two series of three, consisting respectively of St. John the Evangelist holding a long palm branch, St. Peter with a key (broken), and St. Bartholomew with a large knife in his hand, and of Our Lady with clasped hands, St. Andrew holding a small cross-saltire, and another Apostle holding an emblem, now broken.

Behind these figures is a mount on which rests a square block with the imprint of Our Lord's feet, and on either side appear the heads of five other Apostles; that of a sixth is broken away.

All the figures are shown gazing up into heaven, and they are vested alike in long gowns and mantles. The Apostles are likewise all barefooted, but Our Lady is shod.

The panel still retains considerable traces of gilding on the hair of the figures and the emblems they carry, and a small patch of the usual green ground.

Mr. Dewick's three little images (Plate III) are of especial interest as representing the rarely preserved canopied saints that were used in combination with such tables as Mr. Fison's to form reredoses for altars. They are all of about the same height, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with a width of from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and of the second half of the fifteenth century.

One represents an Apostle, evidently one of a series bearing scrolls with the clauses of the Apostles' Creed. He is shown with long hair, short beard, and barefooted, and clad in a gown and mantle. In the left hand he holds a scroll nearly as long as himself, and in the right hand a scimitar. On the Ranworth screen this emblem is assigned to St. Matthew. The scroll has been painted black and lettered, but all that is now left is a red initial, apparently S. This would fit St. Matthew, to whom is usually attributed the clause of the Apostles' Creed: *Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum Communionem*. Even in an abbreviated form, this.



ALABASTER TABLE OF THE ASCENSION
in the possession of Mr. E. Herbert Fison.



THREE ALABASTER CANOPIED IMAGES
in the possession of the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

sentence would require such a long scroll as that carried by the figure. The hair and beard, the borders of the garments, and the sword-hilt are gilt, but the blade of the sword is painted brown. The ground on which the saint stands is coloured green with the characteristic Nottingham spots. Above the figure is a crocketed and pinnacled traceried canopy,¹ with embattled tablement, ornamented with touches of gilding, but the coved under-surface is painted red. On the back is the stump of a leaded-in latten wire for holding the image in place when set up, and the same arrangement occurs in the other images.

Another of the images represents St. Barbara, with golden hair encircled by a brown fillet, long gown and mantle, both with gold borders, and black shoes. In her left hand she carries a dark green palm-branch, and in the right a small marbled tower or turret surmounted by a lead-coloured spire. The ground is green with traces of the usual spots, and above the saint is a like canopy to that over St. Matthew.

The third image is that of a bishop vested for mass, holding a golden crosier in his left hand and blessing with the right. He has no distinguishing emblem. The mitre and vestments have golden apparels, and the gloves gold tassels. The tunic and dalmatic are indicated by a painted band of fringe, and the buskins are coloured red. The orphrey of the chasuble is singular in showing the much earlier double-Y form. The ground on which the bishop stands and the canopy above his head are treated as in the other images.

It will be seen by comparison of these sculptures with others of the same class described and figured in my paper, "On the Early Working of Alabaster in England,"² that there can be little doubt as to their Nottingham origin, and the only ground for regret is that nothing is known as to their history after leaving the "alabaster-men's" hands.

I have to thank Mr. Arthur Gardner for the photographs from which the accompanying illustrations have been made.

¹ A canopy of precisely similar design surmounts the very fine "St. John's Head," preserved in Ampert church,

Hants. See *Archaeologia*, lii. plate xxxv.

² *Archaeological Journal*, lxi. 221-240.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING AT COLCHESTER.

JULY 23RD TO JULY 31ST, 1907.

President of the Meeting.—The Right Hon. JAMES ROUND.

Vice-Presidents of the Meeting.—Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.; W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A.; J. Horace Round, Esq., M.A., LL.D., D.L.; J. H. Etherington Smith, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Local Committee.—Henry Laver, Esq., F.S.A.; the Rev. T. H. Curling, B.A.

London Committee.—Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S. F.S.A.; James Hilton, Esq., F.S.A.; W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A.; Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.; Herbert Jones, Esq., F.S.A.; C. R. Peers, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; Mill Stephenson, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretary for the Meeting.—Wm. Hale-Hilton, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS.

July 23rd.—Inaugural meeting at the Town Hall. Reception by the Mayor of Colchester. Copford Church, with vaulted Norman nave and apsidal vaulted chancel, described by Dr. Laver. Layer Marney Hall, a sixteenth century quadrangular house, with gatehouse, described by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. Layer Marney Church, with monuments of the Marney family, described by the Rector, the Rev. H. T. Boys. Evening meeting. The Rev. F. W. Galpin, on "Musical Instruments in Gothic Art," illustrated by examples.

July 24th.—Little Maplestead Church, with hexagonal nave and circular aisle, described by Mr. Hope. Castle Hedingham Church and Norman Castle, described by Mr. Hope. Evening Meeting: Mr. W. Gurney Benham, on "The Town Charters of Colchester." Dr. J. Horace Round, on "Bergholt Sackville and the Essex Sackvilles."

July 25th.—Inworth Church, described by Mr. Hope. Coggeshall Church, of the fifteenth century, and Coggeshall Abbey, founded 1140, both described by Mr. Beaumont. Paycock's House (c. 1500). Bradwell Church, described by the Rev. T. H. Curling. Two mediæval barns at Cressing Temple. Faulkbourn Hall, mainly of the fifteenth century, described by Mr. Hope. Evening Meeting: Dr. J. Horace Round on: (a) "The Carrington Legend"; and (b) "A Note on Dr. Gilbert."

July 26th.—Colchester Castle, described by Mr. Hope. The Museum. The Roman Walls, St. Botolph's Priory, St. John's Abbey Gate, Trinity Church, Dr. Laver acting as guide. Conversazione at the Town Hall.

- July 27th.—Maldon Church, with thirteenth century three-cornered tower, described by Mr. Beaumont. Spital Chapel, described by Mr. R. C. Fowler. The Town Hall (*temp.* Henry VIII). The Plume Theological Library (*c.* 1660). Bileigh Abbey, mainly of the thirteenth century, described by Mr. R. C. Fowler. Heybridge Church, Langford Church, with apsidal *west* end, described by Dr. Laver.
- July 29th.—Great Dunmow Church and Tiltey Abbey, both described by Mr. Hope. Horeham Hall [1510], described by Mr. T. D. Atkinson. Thaxted Church and Great Bardfield Church, both described by Mr. Hope. Annual Business Meeting.
- July 30th.—Brightlingsea Church [fifteenth century], described by the vicar, the Rev. A. Pertwee. St. Osyth's Priory [*c.* 1120], described by Mr. Hope. St. Osyth's Abbey, Great Clacton Church, described by the vicar, the Rev. J. Silvester. Evening Meeting: Dr. Henry Laver, on "The Destruction of Colchester by Boadicea." Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, on "Traces of Saxons and Dames in the Earthworks of Essex."
- July 31st.—Extra day. Bradwell-juxta-mare, the site of Othona, a Roman coast fortress. Ruins of the seventh century church of St. Peter on the Wall, described by Dr. Laver. Tillingham Church. Southminster Church.

Tuesday, July 23rd.

After an interval of thirty-one years, the Institute again chose Colchester as the centre for its annual meeting. The proceedings opened at noon, when the Mayor and Corporation, in robes of office, received the members in the Town Hall. On behalf of the citizens, the Mayor (Mr. WALTER B. SPARLING, J.P.) cordially welcomed the Institute to Colchester. He was followed by Alderman HENRY LAVER, F.S.A., and the Rev. T. H. CURLING, B.A., who, as President and Secretary respectively of the Essex Archaeological Society, joined in the welcome on behalf of that body. The President of the Institute, Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, in responding, dwelt briefly on the long record of Colchester's history, and introduced the President of the meeting (the Right Hon. JAMES ROUND), who also spoke. Alderman LAVER then drew attention to some details in connection with the week's programme. A vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation for their hearty reception of the Institute was carried unanimously; the MAYOR replied in suitable terms, and the proceedings then terminated.

After an adjournment for luncheon, the members drove through Lexden and Stanway to Copford church, which was described by Dr. LAVER. The building now consists of an early Norman apsidal chancel, a nave of the same date of four bays, with a later south aisle and south porch, and a wooden belfry over the western end of the nave. Originally, the church consisted only of the apse and nave, both vaulted, the former with the usual semi-dome, the latter with a barrel-vault, with broad arches forming the divisions, springing from flat pilaster strips. Owing to a slight settlement, the nave vault was removed, probably in the fifteenth century, and the present king-post roof substituted.

The whole of the interior was originally decorated with colour, considerable traces of which were found in 1876 when the church was restored, but unhappily a good deal of repainting was done, some of it quite conjectural, especially in the apse. Dr. Laver also referred to the new door and porch, and said that the old door which had been removed was one of the few in England on which human skin had been nailed. Portions of this skin, perhaps belonging to some sacrilegious Dane, are still preserved in the vestry. The church has lost all its old furniture with the exception of the rood-screen and a large chest.

A move was then made to Layer Marney, where the party was received by Mr. W. M. de Zoete in front of the Hall, which Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE described. He referred to the interest of domestic architecture, and reminded his hearers of the very fine examples of houses which had merged from fortresses into comfortable dwellings visited when at Tunbridge Wells in 1906. He characterised Layer Marney Hall as the beginnings of a large mansion of the courtyard type, dating from about 1520, but which had never been completed. It consisted of a lofty gatehouse of three stories with angle turrets, built entirely of brick, with ranges of buildings on either side. These were built by Sir Henry Marney, K.G., afterwards Lord Marney, Captain of the Guard to Henry VIII., who died in 1523. He was succeeded by his son John, who carried on the work for two more years, when he also died and all building came to an end. What remains is all of fine brickwork, but the principal window mullions and transoms, the cornices and other ornamental features are of moulded terra-cotta and show strong traces of Renaissance influence, while the main portions are Gothic. This peculiar combination belongs to an interesting group of buildings which Mr. Hope urged some member to take up as a special study. The house, if it had ever been carried to a conclusion, would probably have contained a great hall and ranges of chambers.

Some discussion took place as to the Italian or Flemish origin of these decorative features, and as to whether they were the work of Englishmen under foreign influence.

The President observed that an Italian architect was responsible for a great deal of decorative work in the reign of Henry VIII., in one instance being employed by Wolsey in the work at Hampton Court, and that probably accounted for the work in some of the decoration in that building, which was, he believed, the earliest dated building where that particular style of ornamentation occurred.

The parish church was next inspected, and the chief features of interest pointed out by the rector, the Rev. H. J. BOYS. It consists of a chancel of three bays with north chapel, a nave of five bays with north aisle and south porch, and a tower at the west end. The building is practically all of one date, and evidently the work of the same builders as the great house. It is throughout of brick, even the window mullions and transoms being of this material. With the exception of the exterior of the tower, the whole of the surfaces were originally plastered. The chancel and nave retain their open roofs with coved ceilings, but the aisle and north chapel have flat roofs with richly-moulded cross-beams. The rood-screen seems to be older than the present church, and there is some good late woodwork about the

pulpit. On the north wall of the nave is a rude painting of St. Christopher, with the usual attributes. The chief features of the church, apart from its architectural interest, are the fine tombs. The earliest is of alabaster, with effigy in armour of Sir William Marney, who died in 1414, and directed that his body be buried in the quire. His tomb stood over his grave until a recent restoration, when it was removed into the north chapel. Under an arch between chancel and chapel is another fine monument, that of Henry, Lord Marney. His will, made in 1523, directs "that the chapel which I have begon adjoyning to the chauncell of the parish churche . . . be new inside and fully fynysshed according to the same proportions in length bredith and heith as it is begon, with a substanciall flat Roofe of Tymber." His executors were also to "cause to be made a Tymbre of marbull to be sett in the wall betwixt the chauncell and the said chapell, which wall I will it be newe and to be vawted over with marbull and workmanly wrought w^h suche works as shalbe thought convenient by my executors, and my Image to be made of black marbull or Towch w^h everything convenient and appurteyning to the same, and to be leyed and sett upon the said Tomb." The tomb and its canopy are actually of moulded terra-cotta, showing strong Renaissance influence, but the effigy is of touch, and represents the knight in armour. In the north aisle is another tomb, also of moulded terra-cotta, of John, Lord Marney, with his effigy in touch. The tomb is not canopied, but has across the west end the panelled block of an altar, in accordance with the will of the deceased.

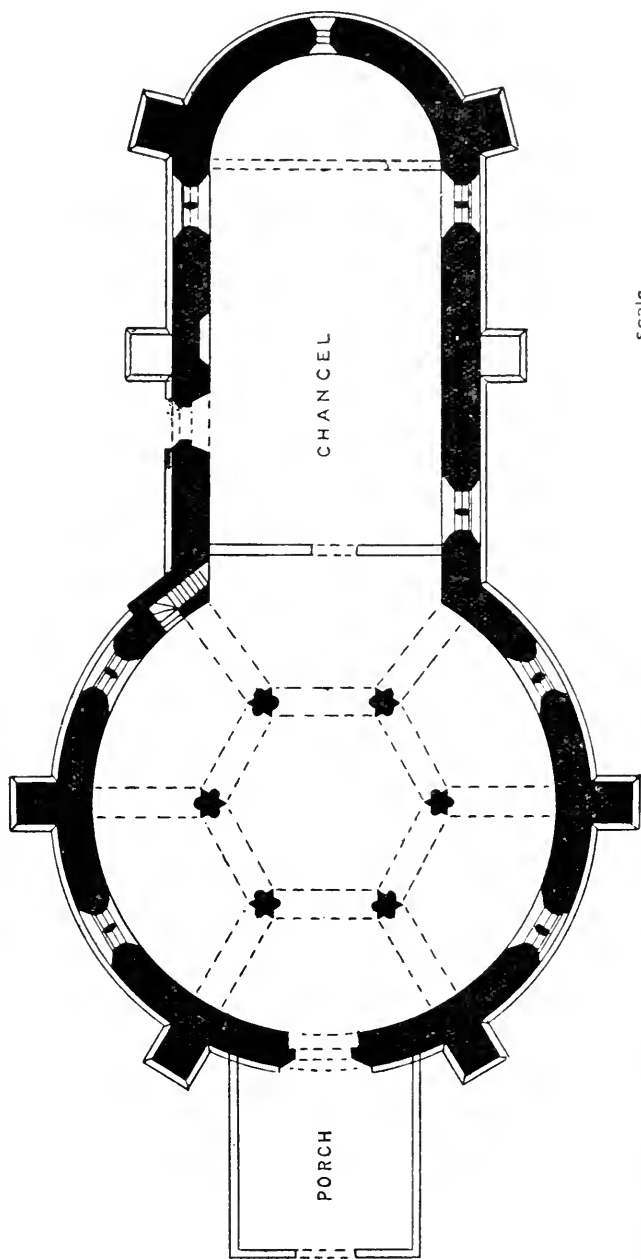
On leaving the church the party returned to the grounds of the Hall and was entertained to tea by Mr. de Zoete, and subsequently drove back to Colchester.

At the evening meeting in the Town Hall the Rev. F. W. GALPIN, M.A., read a paper on "Musical Instruments in Gothic Art," and showed by actual examples from his own collection, mainly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the nature of the several instruments represented in carvings and painted glass of our own cathedral and parish churches, without gathering examples from Continental sources or referring to the illustrations of musical instruments to be found in the manuscripts of mediæval times. Beginning with the harp, the lecturer observed that in England it always took the form of a small and portable instrument with a curved front pillar resting on the knee or hanging from a strap from the shoulder, and he referred to examples in the Angel Choir at Lincoln. Mr. Galpin then passed to the psaltery, which consisted of a small sound box with metal strings stretched across it, plucked by the fingers or by a plectrum; the player is usually represented as supporting it with his arms, with hands left free to play on the strings. This instrument in its most archaic forms was of Eastern origin, and owing to the fact that in the Vulgate the word stands as a translation for the Hebrew *rebec*, the psaltery is constantly met with in church architecture. Instances are to be seen on the fourteenth-century stone rood-screen at Great Bardfield, also at Manchester and Beverley. An advance was made on this instrument in the dulcimer, which, similar in other respects, was struck by two small hammers; it thus became the predecessor of the piano, as the psaltery was the parent of the spinet. The citole, a rare

instrument somewhat flatter than the psaltery, was then described, followed by the gittern, a large type of zither. Another stringed instrument was the lute, easily recognised by the pear-shaped outline of the body and the rounded back. It was introduced by the Moors into Spain, whence it spread throughout Europe; but fell into disuse in the eighteenth century in favour of the guitar. The lecturer then described the rebec introduced by the Arabs in the sixth and seventh centuries, distinguished from the fifele, or fiddle, by the oblong body and incurvations at the sides of the latter, which was in earlier times played with the fingers or a plectrum, but the bow, adopted apparently from the Arabs, was used with it in the tenth century, and it appeared with the rebec in the royal bands of the sixteenth century. The symphony, later known as the hurdy-gurdy, the earliest stringed instrument provided with key mechanism, and in use as early as the eleventh century, enabled a succession of consecutive octaves or fifths to be rendered with ease and precision, and was apparently used in the churches to accompany the *organum* or harmonised plain song. Mr. Galpin next dealt with the clavichord, the first stringed instrument with a true keyboard, and the virginal, which in turn gave place to the harpsichord and the pianoforte. Turning to wind instruments, he exhibited early specimens of the flute in the form of pan-pipes; its nearest relative was the three-holed pipe, used with a small drum or tabor and associated with the morris dance and village revels. The shawm was a reed instrument chiefly used for open-air music, which, under the name "wayhte," became the recognised instrument of the watchmen, and was of all pipes the most frequently represented in Gothic art, being easily distinguished by the large bell at the lower end. By a modification in shape and bore, it became in the seventeenth century the hautboy, while with a bag attached it became the bagpipe, and in Great Bardfield church might be observed the bagpipe and shawm. The horn and the trumpet and the earlier straight or slightly curved form of the cornet, and the trombone were next examined. The organ, in its early portable form, was also commented upon at length, and its gradual evolution into the great organ traced. The paper concluded with some observations on the drum, the double drums, the timbrel, triangle and cymbals. The interest of the lecture was much enhanced by a performance on several of the instruments. Mr. Galpin played, among others, an Elizabethan jig, a morris dance, and a tune composed for Henry VIII. for the sackbut.

Wednesday, July 24th.

The party travelled by special train to Halstead, and from thence drove first to Little Maplestead, where the remarkable and diminutive church (see plan) was described by Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE. It originally belonged to a preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers founded here in 1186; the font only is of that date, the church belonging to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It consists of a long apsidal quire or chancel, with a hexagonal tower on the west surrounded by a circular aisle from which arches extend to support the tower. To this was added in the fifteenth century a large wooden western porch. From the abutting arches spanning the



LITTLE MAPLESTEAD CHURCH,
ESSEX.

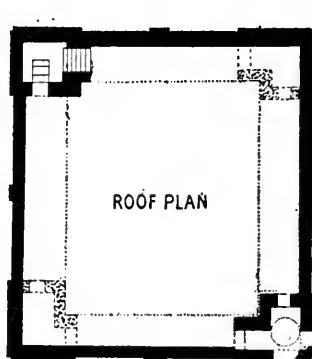
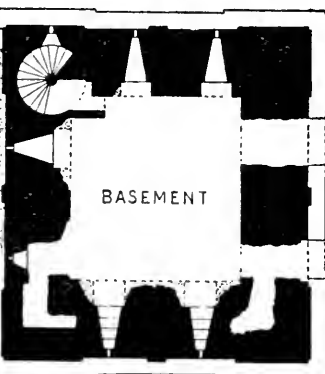
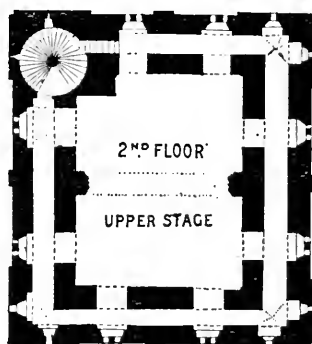
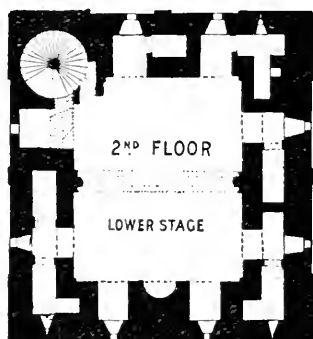
aisle the tower was perhaps intended to be vaulted, but was apparently never completed, and is now surmounted by a wooden belfry. Mr. Hope observed that round churches were generally associated with the Templars, but as the great church of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell possessed a round nave, it might well be that the builders of Little Maplestead church were following the plan of their own mother church rather than the example of the Templars. The church has suffered considerably from scraping and rebuilding, and underwent a drastic restoration about thirty-five years ago, when every window was made new, the arcades scraped, the porch destroyed, the old altar-screen and rood-screen swept away, and the rood staircase removed.

A passing visit was paid to Great Maplestead church, which has an apsidal chancel and nave of Norman work; the tower also appears to be Norman. On each side an aisle has been added, a transept and chapel have been built out, and a tomb has taken the place of one of the altars. There are some good late monuments, one representing the recumbent figure of Sir John Deane, of the seventeenth century. The church has undergone a good deal of reconstruction.

The party then drove to Castle Hedingham, where lunch was laid at the Bell Hotel. The church was then inspected under the guidance of Mr. HOPE. It consists of chancel, nave with clerestory and aisles of six bays, south porch and a western tower. The nave and chancel are both of good Transitional work. The chancel has, on the east, a wheel window and three small pointed windows below it, and side windows set in a wall arcade, all original work. The nave arcades have simple round arches carried by pillars alternately round and octagonal, with square capitals enriched with excellent carved leafwork. The clerestory windows were plain, round-headed openings, but have been altered into two-light windows of brickwork early in the sixteenth century, to which time may also be assigned the remarkably fine hammer-beam roof. The eastern ends of the aisles were originally walled off from the nave as chapels, but the openings were pierced in the fourteenth century, when larger windows were also inserted. The tower is entered from the nave by a lofty pointed arch carried by transitional responds of the same character as those of the nave arcades. These were shown by Mr. Hope to have belonged to an additional bay which was destroyed when the tower was built, and used up in the new work. Externally, the tower is a fine and picturesque one of brick, whose date the guide books fix as 1616 upon the authority of an inscription on the exterior, now nearly hidden by ivy, ROBERT ARCHER, THE MASTER WORKEMAN TO THIS STEPELL 1616; but this can only refer to later repairs. As Mr. Hope pointed out, the date of the tower can be approximately fixed by a row of badges over the west window which referred to John de Vere, K.G., Earl of Oxford, Lord High Admiral and Lord Chamberlain, who died in 1513. A boatswain's whistle, such as was carried by officers in the navy in the time of Henry VIII., indicates his post in the navy; a screw jack surrounded by the Garter refers to his Christian name; then comes the De Vere mullet or star, followed by an ox crossing a ford, and a chair which points to the office of Lord Chamberlain. The doors are all original, and still enriched with twelfth-century ironwork, which is very rarely met with. The restored

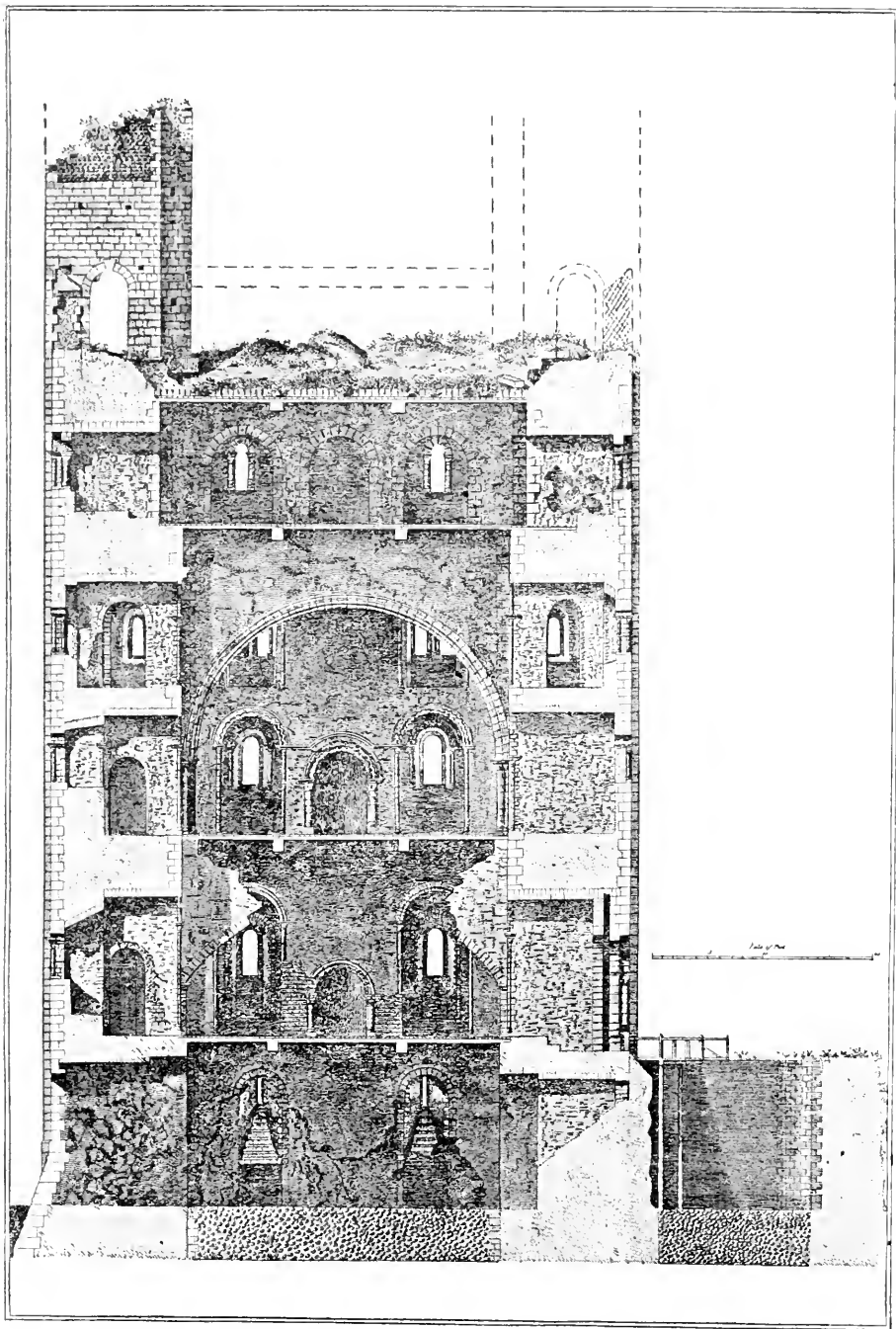
rood-screen contains a good deal of the old work, and in the chancel are remains of the old stalls with carved misericords, which suggest that the church was intended for collegiate rather than parish purposes. The only monument of importance is that of John de Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford, who died in 1539, with effigies of himself and wife carved on a slab of touch, with figures of their children on the sides.

From the church the members proceeded on foot to the castle (see plan), where they were received by Mr. J. K. A. MAJENDIE, the present owner. The castle was described by Mr. HOPE as consisting of an extensive earthwork, a modification on a large scale of the Norman mount-and-bailey type, thrown up by Aubrey de Vere, who held Hedingham in demesne at the time of the Domesday Survey. Had the castle been begun on a smaller scale, it would have been a typical example, but the builders started with so large a perimeter that there was not material enough to make the usual conical hill, but only to form a bank round the area. Other examples of this divergence from the type are to be found at Old Basing and in the middle of the great prehistoric earthwork known as Old Sarum. The Hedingham Castle earthwork consisted of an outer bailey, in which were the gatehouse, the stables, etc., and was separated from the inner bailey by a deep ditch, now spanned by a Tudor bridge of brickwork. To the original castle, which was fortified by wooden stockades, was added, probably by a second Aubrey de Vere who died in 1141, a great rectangular tower of masonry in the middle of the inner bailey. Mr. Hope pointed out its many features of resemblance to the better-known and somewhat larger tower of Rochester, which is recorded to have been built between 1126 and 1139, and claimed that the two were the work of the same *ingeniator* or military engineer. But whereas the Rochester tower is built of the local Kentish rag, with Caen stone dressings, the rubble core of the Hedingham tower is faced throughout with regularly coursed ashlar, probably from the Barnack quarries. The result is that the Essex example, despite the loss of its battlements and of two of its four turrets, retains an appearance of finish which invests it with a dignity and beauty difficult to match. The tower was entered on the first floor from a staircase and barbican, now much ruined, and included a basement and a second and a third floors. The second floor, which served as a hall, has a clerestory on all four sides, and is spanned by an arch carried by responds, instead of being subdivided by a wall as at Rochester. A like feature, but of plainer character, may be seen in the floor below. A large well, recently discovered near the tower, was opened for the inspection of the party. Mr. Hope also referred to the history of the castle and its long ownership by the Vere family. He said that at the time of the Domesday Survey, which was finished in 1086, the place was held in demesne from the King by Aubrey de Vere, and a number of small holdings were described as held of the manor. Small holdings were never found unless there was a big place held by the lord himself. Dr. Horace Round had pointed out that the existence of small holdings at Hedingham in the Domesday Survey pointed to this being Aubrey de Vere's stronghold, and therefore he claimed that this mighty earthwork was thrown up by Aubrey de Vere some time before 1086, probably an obligation laid upon him by the King. The



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HEDINGHAM CASTLE. PLANS OF THE TOWER.



SECTION OF THE TOWER OF HEDINGHAM CASTLE FROM EAST TO WEST.

one aim was to maintain the conquest of the country, and the construction of such works was either the work of the Conqueror or one of his tenants-in-chief. Aubrey de Vere was succeeded by his second son, also named Aubrey, who in 1106 was made Great Chamberlain by Henry I., and married a daughter of the Earl of Hertford. To him must be ascribed the building of the tower. In 1152 Maud, wife of King Stephen, died in the castle, and was buried at Faversham. In 1216 the castle was occupied by John, but was recaptured in the next year by the French party, who held it for a time. It was a noteworthy thing that, with very small intervals, the castle was continuously in the hands of one great family for five centuries after the Conquest, and considering the vicissitudes of the great families of the country during that period, that was quite exceptional. King Henry VII. was entertained in the castle by one Earl of Oxford, and Queen Elizabeth by another. In 1592 the castle was disposed of to Lord Burleigh, and remained with his descendants till 1609, when it came back to the De Veres by purchase, and was held till 1625, when the last of the De Veres died; then it passed by jointure to his wife, then to the Earl's cousin, and was sold in 1713 to Robert Ashurst, from whom it had descended to Mr. Majendie, the present owner.

The President then added some interesting historical notes on the Vere family. Perhaps, with the exception of the Courtneys, who were Emperors of Constantinople and subsequently Earls of Devon, he thought there was no family so continuously famous as this. They acted a prominent part in the war of Stephen and Matilda, taking the side of the latter; they fought against John, and a De Vere was one of the few nobles who received a title from Simon de Montfort. A De Vere led the right wing of the English army at Poitiers, and the family took a very active part in the Wars of the Roses. Two of them were executed in the Tower by Edward IV. Henry VII., after being entertained at Hedingham, was mean enough to call in question thenumber of his host's retainers, and fined him a large amount. The earl, however, must have survived that, because he was recorded as being buried with 900 tenants marching to his grave, all dressed in long black cloaks. In the time of Elizabeth a De Vere was one of the most attractive of our English soldiers, fighting at the head of our troops in the Low Countries, and it was a De Vere's desertion which contributed more than anything else to displace James II.

The party then inspected with great interest the interior of the keep, and then, at the invitation of Mr. Majendie, the visitors moved to the adjoining mansion, which was thrown open to them, tea being served in the shade of a magnificent tulip tree in full bloom. Subsequently carriages drove the party to the station, whence they reached Colchester shortly before 7 p.m.

At the evening meeting Mr. W. GURNEY BENHAM exhibited the town charters and other illustrative documents, and described the various classes preserved in the muniment-room. These form a collection which it would be difficult to match, and, through the exertions of Dr. Laver, the whole has been put into admirable order. A note on the subject by Mr. Gurney Benham is printed in the *Journal* at page 203. Dr. J. HORACE ROUND also contributed a paper on Bergholt Sackville and the Essex Sackvilles, which will appear in the *Journal*.

Thursday, July 25th.

On Thursday, the members first went by train to Kelvedon, where carriages were in readiness to convey them to Inworth. Here the church was described by Mr. HOPE and Mr. LYNAM, both of whom ascribed the early-looking work in the chancel and nave to the Early Norman period, though there were characteristics of Saxon work in the walls which made it difficult to decide conclusively whether it was Saxon or Early Norman. The building consists only of chancel and nave, with modern west tower and south porch, but contains evidence of the nave altars, and a good simple screen and other woodwork; likewise some vestiges of ancient colouring with scenes from the life of Our Lord.

The journey was then continued to Coggeshall, where the large and fine church of St. Peter-ad-Vineula, of late fifteenth-century date, was described by Mr. G. F. BEAUMONT, F.S.A. The church consists of chancel and nave, both with aisles, a western tower and south porch. Mr. Beaumont pointed out the chief features of interest. He observed that a church stood here in 1125. The church was built on the site of, or in close proximity to, a Roman villa, for near it had been found coins of Antoninus and other emperors, tiles, tesserae, etc. The tower was the earliest part, and was evidently built for a much smaller edifice. The church has suffered much from the restorers, and all its old fittings are gone.

The site of the Cistercian Abbey, founded here in 1140, was next visited, again under the guidance of Mr. BEAUMONT, who first explained the features of the now restored chapel of St. Nicholas, of early thirteenth-century date, one of the earliest undoubted mediaeval brick buildings in England. It formerly was the "chapel without the gate," where women and others who were not admitted into the abbey precinct could hear Mass. Of the abbey itself very little remains. Mr. Beaumont indicated the position which, in his opinion, was occupied by the abbey church, and said that after a period of hot weather the plan of much of the building could be clearly traced. The portions which still remain and which are now converted to farm purposes were then pointed out: some being conjecturally identified with the infirmary buildings. Mr. HOPE and Mr. LYNAM were inclined to regard part of an arcade in the farmhouse as belonging to the church, but this view did not commend itself to Mr. Beaumont. Mr. Hope added that a more detailed examination needed to be made before the real nature of the several buildings could be ascertained, and urged the Essex Archaeological Society to devote fifty or sixty pounds to the excavation of the site, by which they would be able to reconstruct the monastic arrangements with exactitude.

After an interval for luncheon, served at the Chapel Hotel, the party, by permission of the Rev. C. Noel, visited Paycock's House, an interesting small half-timbered mansion containing much beautiful carved work on the beams and rafters, and built, according to Mr. Beaumont, between 1500 and 1505 by one Thomas Paycock, a merchant, who mentioned it in a will dated 1505.

The party went on next by carriage to Bradwell, where the interesting, but out-of-the-way, little church was described by the Rev. T. H.

CURLING. Structurally it is of the Norman period, but larger windows were inserted in the fourteenth century to light the high altar and nave altars, and in the fifteenth century in the east and west walls. The earlier of these windows are noteworthy for the extensive traces of figure and other contemporary painted decoration on the jambs and soffits which have been brought to light by Mr. Curling. The windows also contain some fragments of the original glazing. The remains of the rood-screen and loft are of interest, as are portions of the enclosure of one of the nave altars and other woodwork. One or two good monuments remain, including the ornately carved late Elizabethan stone figures kneeling in niches over the altar representing Sir Anthony Maxey and his wife, and his son, Sir William and his wife; also part of an incised slab of touch commemorating a priest who died in 1349. The font, Mr. Curling suggested, was originally a square Norman one, but the corners had been chamfered off and the bowl fitted to an octagonal Tudor base of moulded brick. The whitewashed exterior of the church has a very striking and telling effect.

On the way to Faulkbourne Hall, two mediæval barns of great size were inspected at Cressing Temple. The smaller of the two is over 130 feet long. Mr. LAVER pointed out that originally not a bit of ironwork was used in the great structures, and that only the axe and adze had fashioned the massive oaken beams of which they were constructed. Built in 1450, the barns were attached to Cressing Temple, a place which belonged later, he supposed, to the Hospitallers, and they were used for the storing of the produce from the tithes of the parishes surrounding. In ascribing the reason of such massive buildings being composed so largely of wood, Mr. Laver said that owing to there being no suitable building stone in the county, wood had to be used, and Essex was one of the counties in which the carpentry was superior to all the rest of England.

Faulkbourne Hall, where the party was received by the owner, Mr. Christopher W. Parker, and entertained to tea on the lawn, is a good example of a brick house of the fifteenth century, with later additions, originally built, as was explained by Mr. HOPE, round three sides of a small courtyard, the approach to which was by a fine avenue of trees. The middle part was occupied by a dining-room rather than a hall, though it had a bay window, and over it the great chamber with a good oriel. At one of the outer angles a stately tower was carried up. All this work is of one date, and from analogies with the tower of Tattershall, Hurstmonceux Castle, and other contemporary buildings, Mr. Hope saw no reason to doubt that it was begun shortly after a licence to crenellate, dated October 11, 1439, had been granted to Sir John Montgomery, the then owner. The party then drove to Witham station, and Colchester was reached shortly after 7 p.m.

At the evening meeting Dr. J. HORACE ROUND read two papers, one dealing with the Carrington Legend and the creation of bogus pedigrees, and the second, which is of considerable local interest, with Dr. William Gilbert.

In his note on Dr. Gilbert, Dr. Round said there had been in his own time a remarkable growth of interest in Dr. Gilbert as a Colchester worthy, and it was no doubt due to the great development in electricity that this pioneer of electrical science had come by his

own. Yet even in the eighteenth century his fame was well established. Morant, the historian of Colchester, termed him "that great man," and spoke of Holy Trinity parish as "having had the honour of giving birth to, and also of being the seat and residence of, the most learned Dr. William Gilbert." In the church of this parish was to be seen his interesting monument, for the fortunate preservation of which we were indebted to Dr. Laver's pious zeal. This monument was rich in heraldry, as was the fashion of the day, and three years ago, when a great Colchester enthusiast, Professor Silvanus Thompson, was visiting Colchester with the Institute of Electrical Engineers, he announced what a local paper described as "an interesting discovery." Alluding to the arms on the stone over Gilbert's tomb, Professor Thompson was reported to have said: "He had lately been able to establish that they included the arms of Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who owned fifty manors in Suffolk and Essex, and married a daughter of King Edward I. It was his arms which were granted, with the addition of a crest, to Dr. William Gilbert by the College of Heralds in 1577. The work of tracing out the arms, family connections and other details connected with Gilbert, was, he added, by no means at an end, and for help in this direction he earnestly appealed to East Anglians who treasured his memory." Well, said Dr. Round, we must do justice even to Elizabethan heralds. It will be seen that the doctor's arms are not the chevrons of the house of Clare, but that they are merely a variant of the arms borne by various families bearing the name of Gilbert. How, then, did the professor evolve his great discovery? The explanation is quite simple. The doctor's father came from Clare, on the border of Essex and Suffolk, and these arms were granted to the Gilbert family of Clare. This, in heraldic jargon, became "Gilbert de Clare," and the Professor must have followed this false clue. One more point: at the right-hand top corner is the coat of Gilbert impaling one which proves to be that of Wingfield quartering another; it has been suggested that these were the coats of the doctor's father and mother, but this was not so. His father, Jerome, Recorder of Colchester, as is proved by his monument, formerly in Trinity church, married an Elizabeth for his first wife, and was father by her of Dr. Gilbert and of a daughter. His second wife was a daughter of Robert Wingfield, of Brantham Hall, Suffolk, whose mother was a Wiseman.¹ By her he was father of four sons, the doctor's half-brothers, two of whom erected this monument.

Dr. Round went on to discuss the identity of Gilbert's birthplace with the house now shown as such and described as "Tymperleys." He showed that this name must be a revival, as it had long ceased to be in use when Morant wrote (1748). He questioned, therefore, the authority for making this house the birthplace, the more so as a statement made by Morant virtually identified the house with one known in modern times as "the Rookery," outside the walls. (It has, however, been subsequently ascertained that the original Tymperleys stood, as alleged, in Trinity Street, though the identity of the house has not been absolutely established.) Dr. Round added that, by the kindness of Mr. Gurney Benham, he had been enabled to consult the

¹ Metcalfe's *Visitation of Suffolk of 1612*, p. 176.

original court-roll, and his valuable edition of the Borough Oath-Book had also enabled him to trace the will of Richard Weston, the purchaser. From these court-rolls, now beautifully arranged, which are a priceless source of information for Colchester topography, the history of the property with which we are dealing was found to be as follows: it had belonged to Thomas Stampe, whose daughter and heir, Alice, brought it to her husband, Roger Tymperley. This Roger, Dr. Round identified as the fourth son of John Tymperley, who had purchased the Hintlesham estates in Suffolk. The property then descended to John Tymperley, son of Roger and Alice, and from him to Frances, his daughter and heir, who married George Horseman. George and Frances sold it to Richard Weston, of Colchester, gentleman, and in the description of the property it is stated to be "*jacentibus in parochia Sanctæ Trinitatis et parochia beatæ Marie Virginis, infra muros ville Coleestrie.*" Here everything turns on the words "*infra muros*"; if they were rendered literally, "below the walls," this would exactly describe the position of the three rentaries in St. John's Street, adjoining the Rookery grounds on the west, and running into St. Mary's parish. Richard Weston, who had bought the property from the Tymperley heiress, made his will on May 6th, 1542, describing the house thus: "I will that the said Elizabeth my wife shall have and enjoye to her and her heires for ever all that my capital messuage or mansion place called Tymperleys, with the curtilages, gardens, and close of ground there unto adjoining which I late purchased in the parish of Holy Trinity." Dr. Round said that here for the present his history stopped, but he wished to point out that Dr. Gilbert, being described as "*ætatis suæ 63*" at the time of his death in 1603, is always said to have been born in 1540. If so, he cannot have been born, as is always alleged, at Tymperleys, because it had been shown that as late as 1542 it was the seat of the Westons, and not of his father. His father Jerome first appears on the court-rolls in this same year, 1542-3. On the other hand, it is very tempting to make the bold suggestion that Richard Weston's widow, Elizabeth, who thus became possessed of Tymperleys, was no other than the Elizabeth who afterwards appears as first wife of Jerome Gilbert, and mother to Dr. Gilbert. This would account beautifully for the devolution of the property, but in that case the doctor can hardly have been born before 1544, which would make him only 59 at his death, or in his 60th year, while his monument says he was 63 "*ætatis suæ.*" Can there have been a mistake on the monument? (It appears that there was, as suggested, a mistake, and that the doctor was not born till 1544.)

The PRESIDENT, referring to Gilbert as one of the greatest scientific men that England had produced, said he was quite sure that the paper would give rise to some discussion.

Dr. LAVER said he had taken hundreds of people to Tymperleys, and it was rather a blow to him to know he had been misleading people; but the fault was not his. If there had been a mistake, he thought it should be made as widely known as the previous statements.

The PRESIDENT observed that that was exactly the right spirit, and Dr. Laver had met the criticism in a most admirable way.

With regard to the Lucas and Lisle controversy, Dr. ROUND said he

did not claim to have actually proved the error, but there was a great question about it. He suggested that an examination of the title deeds of the two houses might help to clear up the matter, which afforded an example of the caution needed in accepting statements based on so-called tradition, without examining as closely as possible the ground on which it rested. Before concluding, he referred to the somewhat heated argument which took place on the occasion of the last visit of the Institute to Colchester as to the reason for the shooting of Lucas and Lisle. He had, he said, made a careful and prolonged research into that matter, the results of which he had published in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, and there was no doubt whatever that Lucas and Lisle were condemned, not upon the charge of breaking their parole, but for the part they took in the defence of Colchester. He did not say whether they were right or wrong, whether they did break parole or not : all he stated was the undoubted fact that they were condemned solely—and not, as alleged by Sir Clements Markham, for breach of parole—for their part in the defence of Colchester. And bearing in mind some of the things which were said in that connection on the last occasion, he did not think the Institute should meet again in Colchester without that fact being publicly stated.

The paper on the Carrington Legend, as already stated, dealt at considerable length with the question of bogus family pedigrees, the birthplace of this particular "legend" being apparently at Cressing Temple, and the first person with whom it can be associated being Henry Smith, of Cressing. Dr. Round claimed to have found fatal flaws in the particular pedigree claimed, and mentioned in connection with the matter some interesting circumstances relating to Sir John Smith, who in the days of Elizabeth was guilty at Colchester of so grave an escapade that he was sent a prisoner to the Tower. An old soldier and diplomatist, he was addicted to "looking upon the wine when it was red," and when placed in command of the Essex train-bands on the eve of the coming of the Armada, he led his regiment to Tilbury, only to quarrel with Lord Leicester and to tell him his health required that he should go to the baths. Other escapades of this Essex worthy were related. Eight years later he committed a further indiscretion. Staying with him at Tofts, in Baddow, was Thomas Seymour, a younger brother of the Lord Beauchamp, who, according to the will of Henry VIII., was actual heir to the throne. The succession to the Crown was a thorny subject, and the two journeyed to Colchester, and on June 12th, 1596, rode on to the field where Sir Thomas Lucas was drilling the local train-bands, and Sir John Smith called on the pikemen to leave their colours and follow him, telling them who was with him. He further committed the offence of abusing Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's great minister, and the Government, hearing of this, scented an armed rising, and Sir John was accused of treason. He pleaded before the Privy Council that his real offence was oversight, "by reason of his drinking in the morning of a great deale of white wyne and sacke." With his sack he had eaten oysters, in June! In vain he offered to make a public and abject apology in the market place of Colchester, and pleaded his "wynie case and extreme drunken follies that he committed for his sins and through lack of the grace of God."

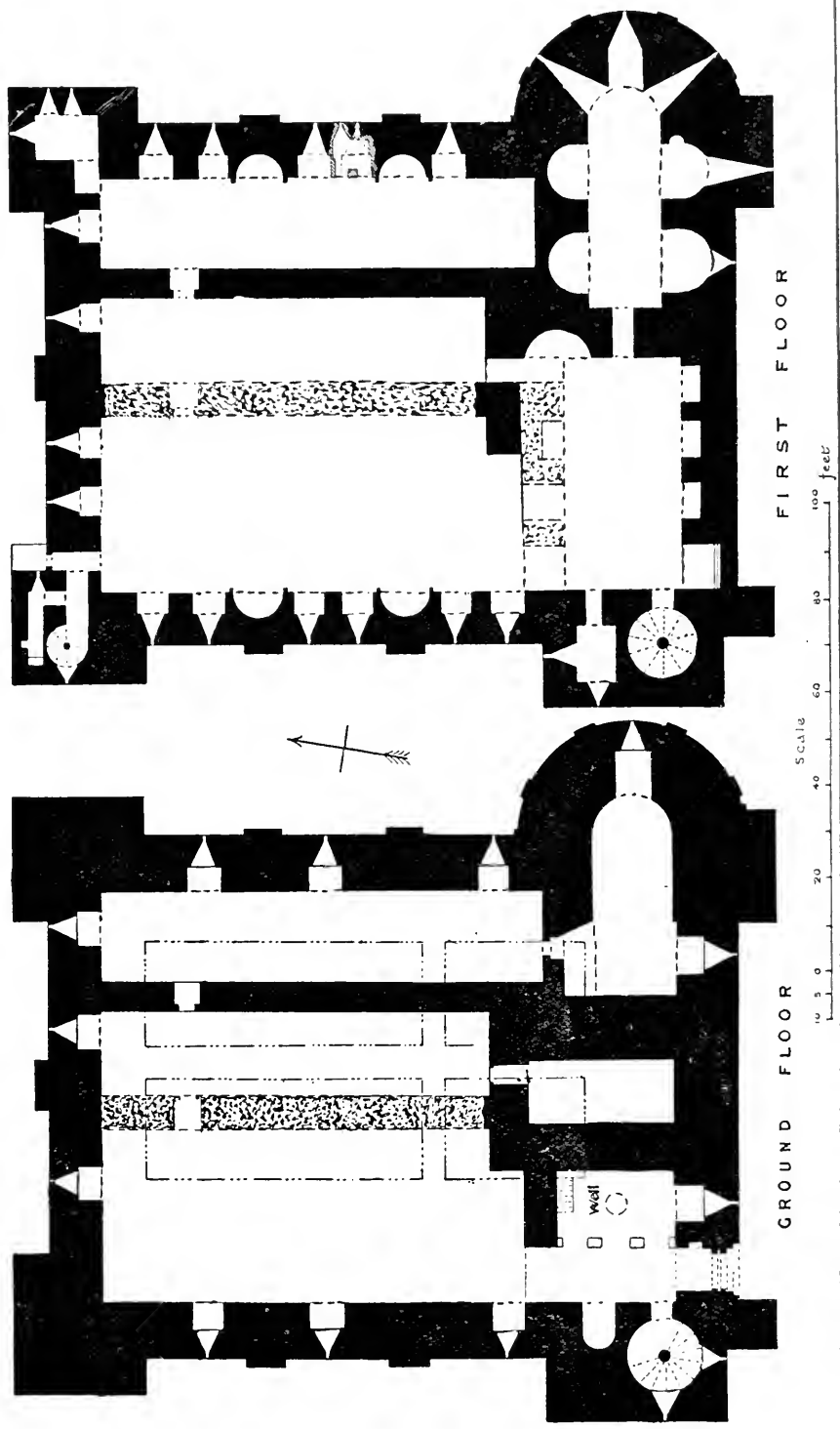
He was kept in the Tower ten years, and for the rest of the Queen's reign was a virtual prisoner at Baddow.

After some observations by the PRESIDENT and Dr. LAVER on the folly and vanity of persons who falsified family history for their own ends, and the desirability of exposing them, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Round.

Friday, July 26th.

This day was restricted to an examination of the chief objects of interest in Colchester itself. The first item was the castle (see plan), which was the subject of an exhaustive demonstration by Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE to a large audience assembled in the library in the great tower. It was difficult, he said, to realise that when the Institute met at Colchester in 1876 there was still a violent quarrel as to the Roman origin of the existing structure, while now all were agreed that it was of Norman date, though built of Roman materials. By the aid of a map of England on which were marked all the known royal and other eleventh-century castles, he showed how their distribution assisted in the work of the Conquest, and what an important point the castle of Colchester occupied. That it was a work of the Conqueror there could now be no doubt. He referred to castles, such as that at Hedingham, built on the "mount-and-bailey" principle, and said that there were three notable exceptions among the early castles where that plan was not followed, one at Exeter, built by the Conqueror himself in 1082; another in London, now known as the Tower of London; and the third at Colchester. He drew attention to a map of the Roman city of Colonia, remarking that the walls which enclosed it still remained, and his own opinion was that when the Conqueror settled the castle here, the quarter of the town in which it stood was open, and although part of it was taken afterwards for the Grey Friars' monastery, he believed that it was originally part of the castle area. There were strong reasons for believing that this quarter was occupied at the time of the Conquest by the very considerable ruins of some very important Roman buildings, such as the forum, the basilica, and the baths, and consequently the lengthy mention of Colchester in Domesday contained no reference to the castle, or to the destruction of houses to make way for it, as was the case at Lincoln and other towns of Roman origin. The large open area of the forum was a very likely place on which to build the chief part of the castle, instead of throwing up a mount, as elsewhere, and the builders were probably moved to the erection of the tower there by the proximity of these extensive Roman ruins. Nothing could be simpler than to lay out the tower in the middle of the forum, and begin it with the materials on the spot, of which it was unquestionably built. Although the present earthen banks that enclose it were not square with the walls of the tower, whenever any research had brought to light remains of the Roman walls it showed that they were all parallel with the great tower. What probably happened was that when the tower was completed and the Roman walls stripped of those bricks which were capable of being used, the long lines of rubbish and the rubble cores of the walls were covered up to form the great banks that enclosed the inner bailey. All recent writers

COLCHESTER CASTLE. - THE GREAT TOWER



upon Colchester Castle had persisted in claiming that it was the work of Eudo, the *dapifer* or steward of the King's household, at the end of the eleventh century. He believed that 1076 was the actual date ascribed to it, and the authority which was relied on for this statement was a mediaeval chronicle of Colchester, the value of which could be ganged by the fact that it began with the venerable legend of good King Coel. It was practically a document of no value whatever, and the statement contained therein was disproved by another document, fortunately of contemporary date. Eudo undoubtedly founded the abbey of St. John, outside the walls, and there existed in the chartulary of St. John's a very important document, which, from the heading, referred to the time of Henry I., and could therefore not be earlier than 1100. The charter referred to is a grant to Eudo the *dapifer*, of the city of Colchester, the tower and castle and everything belonging to it, and stated that the King's father and his brother had held the castle before the gift of it to Eudo. This took the story straight back to the Conqueror, as the person to whom one must look for the origin of the castle. The date of the charter was the first Christmas after the King and his brother made up the great quarrel between them in 1101; it was witnessed by Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and everything pointed to no earlier connexion of Eudo with the castle than 1101, so that henceforth it was hoped that they would hear no more of the Eudo legend. The building itself, Mr. Hope added, had been many times besieged, and had changed hands rather frequently, but it had never been taken by storm. It was rather a significant fact that the street which separated the castle area from the rest of the town was called Maidenburgh. All places called by that or similar names, such as Maidenway, were now held by the best authorities to signify a stronghold which had never been captured, and it might be that this is why the street bore that name. The castle, from having a considerable military value at first, at the head of the Colne estuary and between the two great rivers, lost in time its importance, and by the end of the thirteenth century had become nothing more than a state prison. Mr. Hope went on to deal at some length with the descent of the castle through the Crown, its sale to Sir James Norfolk in 1656, and its further sale in 1683 to John Wheely, who covenanted to destroy the building and to sell the material it contained. This, however, he found so difficult a task that he abandoned it, and the ruins left were sold to Sir Isaac Rebow, who left them to his grandson, from whom they passed to a Mrs. Webster. She gave them to her daughter, Miss Ralph Creffield, and the latter subsequently married Mr. Charles Gray, and from him the property descended to the Right Hon. James Round, the present owner. Mr. Gray was responsible for the preservation of the castle and the restoration of the great well of the keep, as well as the carrying up of the staircase and the building of the dome, the establishment of a library in the crypt, and the roofing of the whole. By the aid of plans and sections, Mr. Hope went on to trace the arrangements of the castle, which was in many respects similar in plan to the Tower of London, though of larger area, and provided with two cross walls instead of one, on account of the difficulty of finding long enough beams for the floors; it was also evident from their similarity of plan that one and the same engineer had designed both. And although the fact had

been denied by some, there was ample evidence that Wheely must have demolished the upper portion, which without doubt contained a large chapel, precisely of the same character and size as that of St. John in the Tower of London. The vaulted sub-structures were evidently intended to carry something massive, and at the north-eastern corner there was a staircase which ascended to the destroyed upper floor, which by analogy with the Tower of London would have contained the great hall. Mr. Hope also drew attention to the foresight of the builders of the castle in carrying the tower foundations some distance below ground to avoid the danger of mining in time of siege. In conclusion he suggested that a building which rivalled in size the Tower of London might properly be known in future as the Tower of Colchester.

Dr. J. HORACE ROUND, speaking at the invitation of the President, said that Mr. Hope's remarks showed what could be done by the scientific study of architecture, and by the vast knowledge which Mr. Hope possessed of most of the important buildings throughout the country. He referred to castles of this description as examples of adaptation to environment, as providing secure fortresses for small bodies of men, and constructed in such a way as to give the greatest possible chance to the defenders and the least to the besiegers. This was particularly noticeable in the construction of the windows, the lower ones being so made as to avoid the risk of lighted torches being thrown inside, while the entrance was made on the first floor, accessible from the ground by a ladder, which in case of siege could be drawn up. The water was also supplied from a great well chamber, which was always the most difficult part of the building for an assailant to reach. He also drew attention to the extraordinary fact that although the tower was chiefly intended for military purposes, it should differ from others in the provision of a chapel which occupied a position quite disproportionate to its military character. Of course, one would expect the Tower of London, which was sometimes used as a royal residence, to have a chapel, but in relation to the chapel at Colchester there was a mystery which was yet to be solved.

Mr. HOPE added that he should like to get satisfactory evidence as to whether this tower or the Tower of London was the older, but he was afraid that question could not be settled. He observed that these towers were exceptional in the early part of the Norman period, and he should like to know if anyone could quote an example in Normandy which could have afforded a prototype.

The PRESIDENT said there was no evidence of stone towers in Normandy till a good many years after the Conquest, and with the exception of the three stone towers in England, wooden stockaded mounts prevailed in England till the time of Stephen. It struck him as probable that the three royal castles were constructed *de novo*, and not as were others, with the restrictions of contour of the previously existing wooden stockaded mounts.

Dr. LAVER then described at length the contents of the Museum, which is housed in the chapel sub-vault, and includes a collection of antiquities illustrative of Colchester and the neighbourhood of the first importance, together with a series of Romano-British sepulchral antiquities made by the late Mr. Josselin, which is virtually unrivalled.

During the afternoon the members were shown round Colchester by Dr. LAVER, the Roman walls of Colonia being first inspected. Dr. Laver said the walls encircled the town almost every part of the way, there being one and three-quarter miles remaining. In some parts they were 17 feet high and 9 feet thick, and in very few parts was there anything approaching a tower, but at various places inside the walls there had been found great blocks of masonry on which no doubt the Romans placed their engines. The whole of the material of the walls was septaria, whilst there were layers of Roman brick or tiles at intervals. As to the date at which they were built, Dr. Duncan had said they must have been built not later than the earlier half of the second century, and there were no breaks in the character of the construction to show that portions had been built at different dates.

St. Botolph's Priory was the next objective, which Dr. Laver described as a priory of the Augustinian Canons, the first of their houses in England, and by a bull of one of the Popes it had the control of the Augustinian Canons throughout the kingdom. After the dissolution of monasteries the nave of the priory was preserved owing to its becoming the parish church of St. Botolph, but during the siege it was practically ruined, and had been a ruin ever since.

Mr. HOPE drew attention to the curious way in which the builders had made use of local material; they could not get any stone, so they fashioned out of Roman tiles the remarkable series of arcades which adorn the west front, not necessarily as niches for the purpose of holding images, but simply part of the architectural scheme. The design of the gable of the nave was curious, on account of its large wheel window, a feature which was rather rare.

Dr. HORACE ROUND said that he had worked out the history of the foundation of the priory, and it seemed that at the end of the eleventh century there was there a house of secular canons, who lived, as secular canons did, an easy life, but it so happened that a desire for a spiritual revival came upon them and they determined to observe a more severe discipline. With that idea, the head of their Order went abroad and studied the rules and observances of the Order of St. Augustine, and when he returned his brethren adopted that Order, and from that sprang the foundation of the Augustinian Order in England.

The party then walked to St. John's Abbey gate, which Dr. LAVER described as being all that remained of the great Benedictine abbey of St. John. There were some statements in the Corporation accounts which would lead one to suppose that the building was put up between 1412 and 1416. Every other portion of the abbey was gone. Referring to the last abbot, John Beach, who was tried for treason because he would not give up the rights of the abbey to the king, he was one of the three mitred abbots who were hanged, the other two being those of Glastonbury and Reading.

Mr. HOPE observed that the architecture was very poor, but apart from that it was an interesting example of an abbey gateway of purely domestic character, for there was nothing specially ecclesiastical about the building.

Dr. HORACE ROUND added a few words, in the course of which he said that after the dissolution of the abbey it went to the Lucas family,

who afterwards came into disfavour with the townspeople, because the one supported the Royalist cause, and the other supported the Parliamentary cause. Sir Charles Lucas took part in the siege and was shot, and that place was the spot of a heated struggle. It was held by the Royalists, because it was necessary for the Parliamentary party to obtain occupation of the ridge on which the gateway stood to mount their guns, and on their getting the ridge the fate of the town was practically sealed.

Trinity church was the next point of interest to be viewed. Dr. LAVER said that the body of the church was of very much later date than the tower, which was Saxon. The church now possessed nothing of very great interest, with the exception of the tower, and the remains of Dr. Gilbert who was buried under the chancel in a vault, and on the wall was a monument to his memory. He was the father of the knowledge of electricity, and Queen Elizabeth, to whose Court he was physician, left him a legacy, so it was said, to enable him to pursue his study. He wrote a learned book called "De Magnete," and he almost anticipated Newton in his work. He was a great friend of Galileo. Gilbert gave reasons for the dip of the magnet, and gave the variations of it in two or three places in Greenland, in Nova Zembla, and in Central Asia, places that were comparatively unknown until years afterwards. His knowledge of electricity at the time of Elizabeth was equal to that which was known in the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century.

The company then adjourned to the grounds of the Holly Trees to enjoy the hospitality of the Right Hon. James Round.

In the evening the Mayor (Mr. WALTER B. SPARLING, J.P.) gave a largely attended conversazione at the Town Hall, where he received the members and their friends and a number of local residents. The maces and other of the corporation insignia were displayed in the Mayor's parlour, together with various local objects of antiquarian interest.

Saturday, July 27th.

Saturday was devoted to a visit to Maldon and neighbourhood. Leaving Colchester by train, the members on arrival at Maldon drove up to All Saints' Church, which was described by Mr. P. M. BEAUMONT. The building is noteworthy for its unique thirteenth-century triangular tower, and for the rich fourteenth-century work of the south aisle or Darcy Chapel, under which is a vaulted bonehole or charnel-house. Mr. HOPE said he thought the church must have been composed for some time of only the nave, chancel and tower, without the chapels, and the meaning of the triangular tower was not far to seek if they looked outside. There was a street on which it now abutted, but when the church was built, the tower was so constructed that it should not extend up to the street, so as to allow room for the processions around the outside of the church on the several occasions when these took place. In some instances a similar difficulty had been overcome by cutting openings through the tower. Mr. LYNAM drew attention to the extraordinary skill with which the tower had been treated architecturally, its peculiar plan being hardly observable outside.

The party next proceeded on foot to the Spital Chapel, about half a

mile out of the town, an interesting aisleless, cruceiform structure. It was once the chapel of a hospital of lepers, founded, Mr. R. C. FOWLER said, about 1164. The architectural details agreed with the date of foundation, but the south gable had been rebuilt in the thirteenth century and contains a triplet of lancets built of Roman brick. The whole structure is in a sad state of dilapidation and now used as a barn. The President added some interesting observations on the prevalence of leprosy and scurvy in the Middle Ages and their probable causes.

Returning to Maldon, the party paid a visit to the Tudor Town Hall. In the council chamber, hung in glazed frames round the walls, is the fine series of town charters. The danger of fire and the fading from exposure to sunlight which is rapidly going on, called for some comments. Dr. LAVER said that at one time he could read them all distinctly, but that was now difficult. He understood that it was upon the advice of someone in the Herald's College that the Corporation had been recommended to treat their valuable documents in that way. It was unanimously resolved, on the motion of the President, that the attention of the Corporation be respectfully called to the great danger from fire and exposure to direct sunlight which these charters were incurring.

A brief visit was also paid to the theological library founded about 1660 by Dr. Plume, sometime Archdeacon of Rochester, now housed in the desecrated church of St. Peter. The old steeple staircase forms the approach to the library, which contains a number of old portraits as well as books.

Luncheon was served at the Blue Boar, after which the party drove to Bileigh Abbey. Mr. R. C. FOWLER described this as a house of Premonstratensian or White Canons, founded as early as 1172 by Robert Mantell at Parndon, but removed to Bileigh in 1180, the White Canons being a reformation of the Black Canons or Augustinian Order, of which mention had been made at St. Botolph's Priory on the previous day. Mr. HOPE stated that there were only thirty-three houses of the Order in England, the date of their coming being about 1120. He also pointed out the site of the church, which was long ago dug out for gravel, and showed that the existing remains consisted of the chapter-house, a vaulted passage next to it, and the warming-house beyond, with the dorter above, and part of the southern range of buildings with the east end of the frater. The chapter-house, which is of a date *circa* 1200, is quite perfect, and has the peculiarity (which it shares with Kirkstall Abbey) of a double entrance, flanked by the usual windows. The vault is carried down the middle line by a row of Purbeck monolithic columns. The warming-house has a similar row of pillars to carry the vault and a fine later fireplace. An account of the different monastic orders and their relations with each other was given by the President.

The drive was continued back through Maldon to Heybridge church, which was described by Mr. HOPE. Originally it had been a Norman church of somewhat unusual proportions, consisting as now of a chancel and nave, with a massive western tower of some architectural pretensions. Later, larger windows had been inserted to give more light to the nave altars, the chancel had been lengthened by a bay, and

a clerestory added to the nave. Then some catastrophe had happened; the tower had fallen or been struck by lightning, and had involved in its ruin the destruction of the arch opening from it into the nave, the nave clerestory, and the chancel arch. The fine king-post roof to the nave, resting on the bases of the clerestory windows, bore various devices in its carved spandrels, which pointed to the latter part of the fifteenth century, and probably, therefore, to the period of the disaster. The chancel roof was also a richer example of the same time. The tower was now reduced to about half its former height. The Norman north and south doorways of the nave remained, together with the original doors and their ironwork. Dr. LAVER added that the battle of Maldon between the Saxons and the Danes was said to have taken place where the church was built.

Langford church was the last item on the programme. It has been so thoroughly restored that little of interest remains: at one time, however, as Dr. LAVER pointed out, it possessed not only an apsidal chancel but also another apse at the western end, which still remains; the plan of this church is probably in this respect absolutely unique in this country. The eastern apse has disappeared, but its foundations were found when some work was being carried on at the eastern end of the church some years before, and in the present chancel's tiled flooring there was an indication of the line which those foundations followed. There was another early and unusual feature in the church, in that the arch of the south door was splayed upward to allow the door to open and close. The party subsequently returned in carriages to Witham and thence by train to Colchester.

Sunday, July 28th.

In connexion with the visit of the Institute, the Rev. T. H. Curling, curate of St. Mary-at-the-Walls, honorary secretary of the Essex Archaeological Society, preached an appropriate sermon at St. Mary's church at the morning service, which was attended by a number of the members of the Institute, his text being: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein" (*Psalms* xxiv, 1).

Monday, July 29th.

This was a particularly interesting day, and a large party left Colchester somewhat earlier than usual for Dunmow, and drove at once to Great Dunmow church, which was described by Mr. W. H. St. JOHN HOPE. It consists of an ample early fourteenth-century chancel, a nave of the fifteenth century with earlier aisles, and a south porch, a late south chapel, and a western tower. Mr. Hope expressed the opinion that originally there had been a cruciform Norman church on the site with a tower over the crossing. Early in the fourteenth century the east end had been rebuilt, and the present fine chancel constructed. It also appeared that the narrow Norman aisles had been taken down and widened to the width of the transepts. Some accident must have happened later, as the arcades were entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century and a clerestory added. The churchwarden's accounts, which begin in 1526, mention in that year

the mending of the windows in the new chapel, probably that on the south of the chancel, and the execution of a considerable amount of work on "the stepyll." As the new casting of the bells is also mentioned, there can be no hesitation in fixing the date of the tower as belonging to the first quarter of the sixteenth century; the south porch is also of about the same date. The south door, Mr. Hope pointed out, was of the thirteenth century, and the curious wooden gallery over it which projected into the aisle from the parvise over the porch might have been used for the boys in the old Palm Sunday services, though the elaborate tracery introduced rather suggested that the gallery had been used as a family pew. There were preserved in the church a few fine fragments of ancient glazing, but nothing was left of the old furniture except the gallery above referred to.

Of the Cistercian abbey of Tiltey there are few remains, beyond a wall with traces of vaulting, part of either the eastern or western range of buildings, and the site is now a rough pasture. The visit of the Institute, however, was not to this, but to the little church of Tiltey, which originally served as the *capella extra portas*, where women and others who were not allowed within the gates might hear Mass. Mr. HOPE explained that the abbey was founded by Robert de Ferrers and Maurice FitzGeoffry in 1153, and colonized from Wardon. It probably began with the usual temporary buildings, for it was the second abbot, Dan Symon, of whom the Coggeshall chronicler wrote on his death in 1214 that (*gracia Dei sibi co-operante*) *quasi de pauperrima grangia pulcherrimam et opulentam instituit abbatiam, in qua zelus religionis cum prudentia seculari contendeat*. It does not appear, however, to have been other than a small foundation, and at the Suppression was worth only £167. It was granted to Lord Audley, who pulled down all the buildings except the gatehouse chapel. This, Mr. Hope showed, had consisted at first of an oblong structure with lancet windows, all of the plainest character, as befitted Cistercian simplicity; but about the middle of the fourteenth century there had been added a square chancel, somewhat wider than the older part, with large traceried windows of extraordinary beauty, and triple sedilia and piscina of equal excellence. These large windows were undoubtedly intended to be, and were originally, filled with rich coloured glass, in direct contravention of the Cistercian rule which forbade the use of any but plain glass. In the south wall of the old chapel are the original double-drained piscina and aumbry of the thirteenth century. Mr. MILLER CHRISTY, at the request of Sir Henry Howorth, briefly described the brasses, which are unusually numerous for so small and out-of-the-way a country church. The earliest was of the fourteenth century on a slab now in the nave with a Norman-French inscription in Longobardic characters in memory of "Mahaud de Mortemer." Another was an inscription commemorating Thomas of Takeley, an abbot of Tiltey, c. 1420. In the chancel are some fine heraldic brasses of the sixteenth century, commemorating, among others, George Medeley (1562), his wife and family and Margaret Tuke, widow and her family (1590). Sir HENRY HOWORTH added a few remarks on the great fervour imported into religious life at the close of the eleventh century, attributable, he thought, to the zeal of Pope Gregory VII.

Horeham Hall (see plan) was the next point visited. Mr. A. P. Humphry, the present owner, welcomed the party in the great hall, where Mr. T. D. ATKINSON gave a short account of the building. Its architectural history, he said, began with Sir John Cutte, who about the year 1510 erected the larger part of the present building, including the hall, the great chamber, and other rooms to the north; but the block to the south, comprising the buttery and pantry, etc., contains in the upper story the open roof and other traces of (probably) the chapel of an older house, *circa* 1470. Sir John Cutte's new chapel was under construction at his death in 1529 and was apparently never finished. The kitchen, which stands obliquely to the rest of the building, dates from the middle of the seventeenth century. At the opposite end of the house is a lofty Elizabethan tower for viewing deer drives in the surrounding park. The fine chimney stack at the south-west corner of the house was probably the work of Sir John's son, who died in 1535. The hall retains its old ceiling and a large oriel window, but has been disfigured by a recently added staircase and gallery. The house was once surrounded by a wet ditch, part of which still remains.

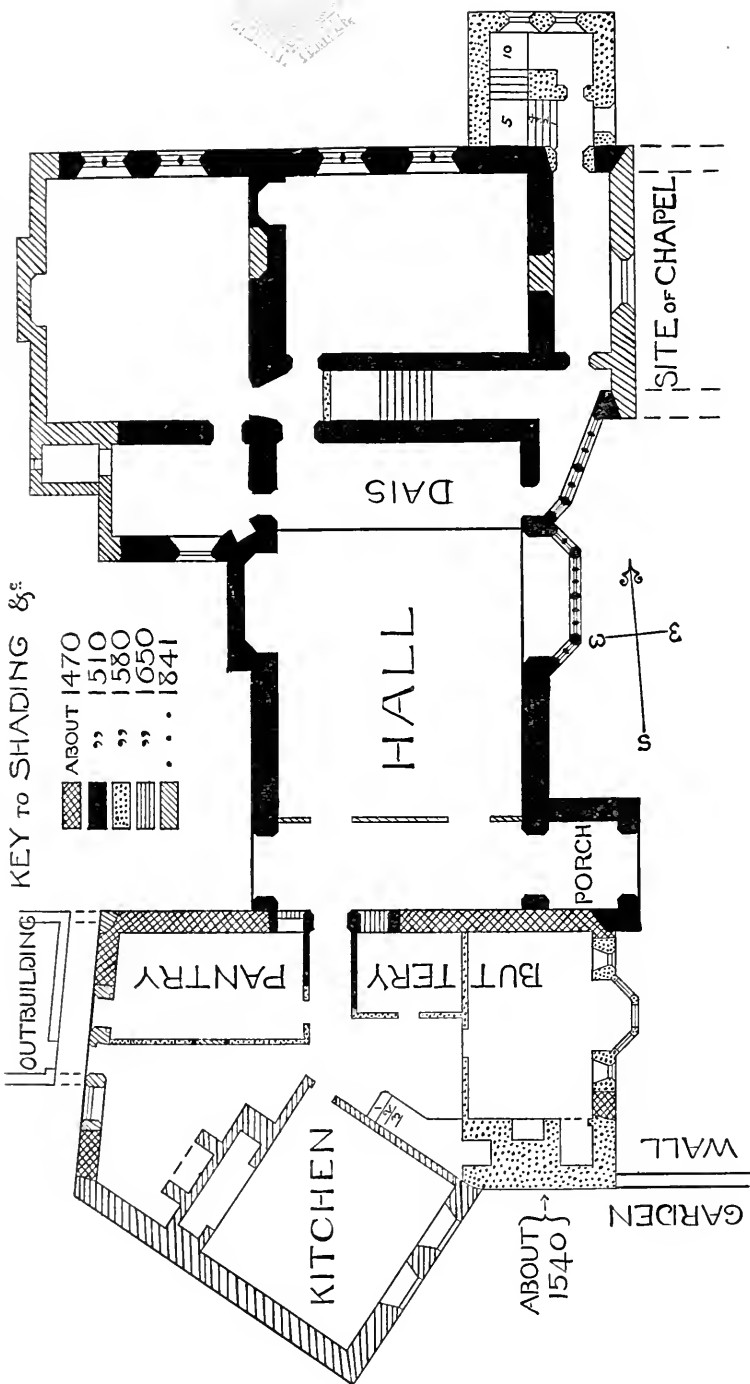
After luncheon at Thaxted, the party assembled in the fine and spacious parish church, one of the largest in Essex. It consists of a chancel with north and south aisles of four bays, with eastern half-bays for the altars, a crossing and north and south transepts, a nave and aisles of six bays with north and south porches, and a western tower and spire. Speaking from the fine pulpit, which stands in the body of the church, Mr. HOPE said it was much to be wished that something definite were known as to the history of so interesting a building. The oldest parts were the nave arcades, the western arch of a lost middle tower, and apparently the bulk of the transepts. These belonged to a reconstruction that had evidently been stopped by the Black Death in 1349. The chancel aisles seemed next in order of date, but the curious arcades with their pierced spandrels and the clerestory above were so much later in character as to suggest that the former work was damaged by the fall of the tower. The wide aisles of the nave had evidently replaced narrower ones, and belonged to the same late date as the clerestory and the nave roof. The tower and spire and the fine north porch were late fourteenth century, but the south porch was contemporary with the aisle, and had, in addition to the large arch of entrance, smaller arches at the sides. Beneath the east window of the chancel are the blocked windows of a bonehole or charnel-house, access to which was by a stair south of the high altar. The church is still fairly rich in old woodwork of various dates, including a curious wooden canopied case to the font of early Tudor work. The pulpit and sounding board are good examples of the time of Charles II. The aisle windows also contain a great quantity of old glass, with remains of figures of saints and pictorial subjects (mostly in a fragmentary condition), which has lately been carefully re-arranged. From the diversity of their style, Mr. Hope suggested that the windows had been glazed at different times through the liberality of sundry donors. A study of the bosses of the aisle roofs, many of which were heraldic, would probably give a clue to their exact dates. The mediæval oaken roofs remain throughout, bleached to a silver grey, and, with the plastered

HORHAM HALL GROUND PLAN

SCALE 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 FEET

KEY TO SHADING &c.

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|--|------------|
| | ABOUT 1470 |
| | " 1510 |
| | " 1580 |
| | " 1650 |
| | " 1841 |



and whitewashed walls, add largely to the dignified aspect of the building. The exterior of the church deserved as much examination as the interior, and the way in which the buttresses and pinnacles were carried up in the eastern portion of the church was deserving of all praise.

The journey was next continued to Great Bardfield, where another interesting church was visited. It was described by Mr. HOPE as consisting of an early Norman chancel, the date of which had been obscured by the insertion of larger fourteenth and fifteenth-century windows, of a nave and aisles with south porch, and a western tower, surmounted by a slim wooden spire covered with sheets of lead. The tower is of late twelfth-century date, but the nave and aisles, with the clerestory and the original roofs, belong to the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and were probably rebuilt by Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and *suo jure* Countess of Ulster, who married Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, about 1368, and died in 1381, shortly after her husband. The aisles have fine and large square-headed windows with delicately-wrought tracery. The noteworthy feature of the church is the chancel arch. This is of the same date as the nave, but subdivided into three openings by stone mullions with beautiful tracery above, carrying, in the middle division, carved brackets for the Rood and SS. Mary and John. The original figures had long been destroyed by Puritan fanatics, but have lately been replaced by new. The aisle windows contain some fine fragments of the original coloured glazing, including shields of the arms of Mortimer, King Edward III., and of the rebuilder of the nave.

A visit was to have been paid to Stebbing church, a beautiful building, *temp.* Edward II., with a (restored) chancel arch similar to that at Great Bardfield, of which it was clearly the prototype; but owing to an earlier mishap to one of the conveyances the journey had to be continued to Dunmow, where they were hospitably entertained by Mr. William Hasler at tea in the grounds of the Croft. Here Sir HENRY HOWORTH gave some particulars of the old Dunmow Flich observance, and the party subsequently returned to Colchester by special train.

In the evening the annual business meeting of the Institute was held, when the Report of the Council was read by the Secretary and a satisfactory statement of accounts presented by the Treasurer. Some discussion took place as to the place of next year's meeting, Cardiff, Tenby, Oxford, Durham and Lincoln being suggested in turn, but, as usual, the final selection was left to the Council. The formal business was followed by a series of votes of thanks to persons connected with the reception and entertainment of the members.

Tuesday, July 30th.

The party first drove to Brightlingsea church. This interesting structure was described by the vicar, the Rev. A. PERTWEE, who pointed out that the thirteenth-century chancel and the three eastern bays of the nave, of fourteenth-century date, were the oldest portions. The rest of the nave and the fine western tower belonged to the closing years of the fifteenth century. The tower is of very good

proportions, and the fine arrangement of the buttresses imparts massiveness. One feature of the tower, the gallery at its base, is of peculiar construction and was built probably for the accommodation of singers or minstrels. Of the bells, only one ancient one now remains, dated 1450, and the old Sanctus bell, which is not hung. The greatest loss the church sustained was in 1814, when the fifteenth-century clerestory and nave roof collapsed, and the former had not been rebuilt. The original roof was a low pitched one and very ornate. In the present roof some of the original bosses have been used. The north or Lady Chapel was lengthened by bequest of one John Beriffe in 1521, and the vestry on the south side was built, through gifts of John Cowper, mariner, and others, about 1538. The south porch has some delicately-worked details of the middle of the fifteenth century. The church contains some interesting brasses and other monuments, and a curious font and cover under the tower.

The journey was then continued to St. Osyth's Abbey, where the party was received by the owner, Sir John H. Johnson, and most kindly allowed access to every part of the buildings. Mr. HOPE once more acted as guide, and explained that the monastery was said to occupy the site of a religious house built in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, by Osyth, the saintly daughter of King Frithwald, and wife of Sighere, King of Essex, from whom she ran away on her wedding day and took the veil. Here she lived until martyred by the Danes in 635. The later monastery was a house of Black Canons, founded before 1118 by Robert, Bishop of London, but little was known of its history. According to the Coggeshall chronicler, the second abbot, Dan Ralph, who died in 1215, *locum illum magnifice in sumptuosis edificiis in redditibus et sacre religionis cultu decoravit*. The privilege of wearing the mitre and ring and other pontifical ornaments was conceded to the abbot in 1397 but annulled in 1403 and regranted in 1412. The abbot and twenty-four canons appended their names to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy in 1534, and the annual value was then reckoned at £758 gross, or £677 in the clear. The inventory taken at the Suppression bears witness to the wealth of the house, and is also of use in giving the names of all the buildings. From the inventory it appeared that the church stood to the south of the cloister, and the rest of the buildings seem to have followed the usual plan. The church has absolutely disappeared, and of the claustral buildings there only remains some portions of the eastern and western ranges, both closely entangled with excellent later work built shortly after the Suppression, which include some fragments of the original twelfth-century buildings. The present house contained some interesting traces of the abbot's lodging, which adjoined the north end of the dormer range, and had been largely reconstructed by Abbot John Vyntener, whose rebuses with the date 1527 could be seen on the large oriel of his time.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hope's remarks a move was made for the interior of the house, just in time to escape a heavy downpour of rain, and the members had an opportunity of examining from the interior the oriel window of Abbot Vyntener's great chamber, rich with heraldry and other devices; in the house is a large collection of carved panelling of his time, but not in its original position, bearing his rebus

and initials, and devices of the various lay and clerical dignitaries who had been connected with the priory.

The most prominent of the later works is a tall brick tower, which perhaps did double duty as a sea-mark and for watching deer drives in the park. Calling particular attention to the massive fifteenth-century structure which formed the gatehouse, Mr. Hope said that it alone deserved close study. It was a magnificent building of faced flints, with delicate details in the stone ornamentation, with panelled front and elaborate niches and vaulting, still in excellent order, and formed an interesting and worthy entrance to the beauty of the structure that was within the grounds.

The rain having ceased, an adjournment was made for luncheon, after which a visit was paid to the neighbouring parish church of St. Osyth.

Mr. HOPE explained that this church afforded an interesting example of a nave which was undergoing reconstruction at the time of the suppression of the abbey, the older nave having been replaced by a much wider one with piers and arches of moulded brick, carrying a fine open roof. The piers and arches were no doubt intended to carry a clerestory, but this and the new chancel arch had not been carried out. The piers for the proposed chancel arch are pierced with openings on each side, to allow of a view of the high altar. In the middle of the chancel is a curious pen, a modern restoration of an old arrangement, with kneeling-places all round the inside for those receiving the Blessed Sacrament at Holy Communion.

Great Clacton church was the last item of the day's programme, and was explained by the vicar, the Rev. J. SILVESTER. It originally resembled Copford church in having an apsidal vaulted chancel and a nave with broad dividing transverse arches and a barrel vault, all of Norman work. The chancel has, however, gone, and is now represented by a modern square-ended structure, and the nave has lost its arches and vault. The tower is a fifteenth-century addition. The party subsequently returned by rail to Colchester.

At the evening meeting, in the Town Hall, Dr. LAVER, F.S.A., read a paper on "The destruction of Colchester by Boadicea," which is printed in the *Journal* at p. 210.

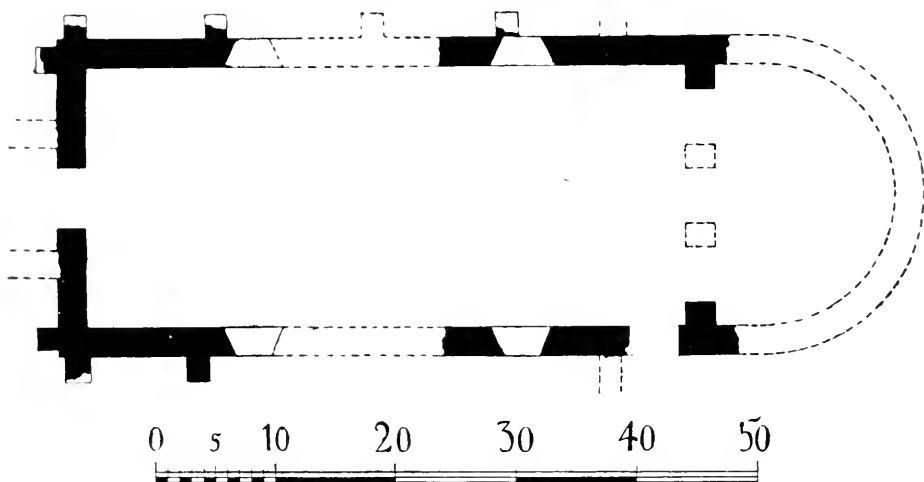
A second paper, on "Traces of Saxons and Danes in the Earthworks of Essex," was contributed by Mr. I. CHALKLEY GOULD, but owing to his indisposition the paper was read for him by Mr. HOPE.

Wednesday, July 31st.

Tuesday, the 30th, was actually the last day of the meeting, but it was arranged that Wednesday, the 31st, should be regarded as an extra day for a visit to the site of the Roman coast fortress of Othona, near Bradwell-juxta-Mare, and to the ruined church or chapel of St. Peter-on-the-Wall. The party first went by special train to Southminster, and then drove through Bradwell-juxta-Mare to the site of the Roman fortress. This was explained by Dr. LAVER as one of the series which was built in late times for the defence of the "Saxon shore," and surrounded with a wall of masonry, with towers at intervals. Half of the area of the station is now below high-water mark, but some portions of the walls may yet be seen.

The ruins of the chapel of St. Peter, built across the line of the western rampart, and perhaps occupying the site of the western gate of the station, are now used as a barn. The chapel consisted originally of a deep apse, an oblong nave with a triple arch between it and the apse and a western porch which was afterwards carried up as a tower (see plan). The apsidal chancel has disappeared, but the nave is fairly complete, and Mr. HOPE claimed that on the evidence of its plan, its tall walls, the distinct traces of the triple chancel arch, and other features, there could be no hesitation in identifying it with the church which Bede records to have been built by Cedd, after his consecration as Bishop of the East Saxons, in 653, at "Ythancester," on the banks of the Pant, or Blackwater.

On the way back to Southminster a halt was made at Tillingham, the manor of which was given by Ethelbert, King of Kent, to St. Paul's Cathedral church in 604 and has continued uninterruptedly in the possession of the Dean and Chapter to this day. The village



PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER-ON-THE-WALL.

church has, however, been so much restored that it contains no features of interest beyond its Norman font and north door.

Before leaving Tillingham, the party was hospitably entertained at tea by Dr. BARRETT, whose charming garden was also inspected, and on the return to Southminster the church there was visited. It has a wide early nave, a good vaulted porch of the sixteenth century, and a western tower. The eastern part of the building is modern.

The return journey to Colchester was made by special train, and thus concluded a very enjoyable meeting.

The whole of the arrangements were excellently and punctually carried out by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. HALE HILTON, with the help of Mr. W. BRUCE-BANNERMAN, and, both as regards weather and the numbers attending, the meeting was in every way most successful.

THE TOWN CHARTERS AND OTHER BOROUGH RECORDS OF COLCHESTER.¹

By W. GURNEY BENHAM.

Though originally intending to restrict myself to the Town Charters of Colchester, I propose, at the instance of the President, to deal, not merely with the Charters, but also with the other ancient deeds and writings of the town: its famous Red Paper Book, its equally remarkable Red Parchment Book, its thousands of Court Rolls, extending over nearly five hundred years and crowded with curious entries, its series of Sessions Rolls, dealing with three centuries, its voluminous Sessions Books and other Court Books, the *Liber Ordinacionum* relating chiefly to the Fishery and to local industries, the Chamberlains' Accounts, the Assembly Books wherein is concentrated the wisdom or otherwise of twenty generations of Aldermen and Councillors, and many hundreds of other miscellaneous books, papers, deeds, decrees and memoranda which make up one of the finest collections of municipal records in the country. It is a great opportunity. One might wander for forty years in this delightful and by no means unfruitful wilderness without exhausting its riches.

Before referring to the charters, it is well to observe that Colchester was from a very early period a royal demesne, or manor, farmed for the King by a steward. The borough, in fact, still pays its fee farm rent of £39 19s. 9d. every year. The earliest charter now possessed by the town is the *Inspecimus* Charter of Edward III. of 1364. This sets forth in full the three previous charters, and we thus find that the first charter of all was granted by Richard I. in 1189. It gave the town the fullest possible measure of Home Rule—in fact, a good deal more freedom of self-government than it now possesses. It also conferred upon the burgesses the right to hunt the fox, the hare and the polecat, a curious privilege

¹ Read at the Colchester meeting of the Institute, July 24th, 1907.

which, as far as I know, is not to be found, at any rate in these words, in the charter of any other borough. But more important are certain allusions which, taken in conjunction with a passage in the Red Paper Book, indicate that the burgesses had enjoyed very considerable liberties long before this charter of Richard I. was granted. The charter, for instance, grants the town its markets and customs to "remain in such state as they were confirmed by the oath of the burgesses" in the reign of Henry II. Perhaps there is nothing very exceptional in that. But with regard to the town fishery, a fishery which extends to the sea and many miles beyond the borough boundaries, the charter grants it to the burgesses to possess "as they had it in the time of the King our father, and in the time of Henry his grandfather" (*i.e.*, Henry I.).

Now, in the Red Paper Book is contained a Norman-French proclamation, made by the Bailiffs in 1256, that is, only sixty-seven years after this charter, which proclamation begins :

"Whereas many of the noble kings of England, from time out of mind, have, by their special charters, granted and confirmed to the burgesses of Colchester and to their heirs and successors, to have and to hold the Borough of Colchester, in fee ferm, freely with all the liberties, privileges, and customs contained in the said charters."

This passage, taken in connection with the wording of Richard the First's charter, seems to indicate that long before that grant, in fact from time immemorial, the burgesses of Colchester, as apart from their lord or steward, or whoever administered them, had certain exceptional privileges and communal rights. How far this may indicate the earlier existence of any *communitas* or commonalty in Colchester, in the days when it was administered or ruled by a fermor or grantee of the crown, or by a *custos portus* or portreeve, I leave to others who are learned in these difficult matters to express an opinion. But before passing on it may be as well to add that it is quite clear from the records of the town that Colchester, though it possessed certain small craft-guilds, never at any time had a merchants' guild or guild merchant.

A few of the earlier charters are illuminated, but the illumination of that of Henry V. (1413) is the most ornate. It has a richly decorated border and initial letter,

with coloured portraits of St. Helena and her son Constantine the Great, but most interesting of all, it has a coloured representation of the borough arms, the earliest known representation of the arms of the town. It differs from the present version of the arms as registered by the Heralds' College in the sixteenth century. In the earlier representation on the charter the three crowns encircle three nails, fixed into the cross raguly, or cross composed of two ragged staves; and this cross instead of being argent or white as now in use, is green or proper in the charter. It is perhaps to be wished that we could set aside the authority of Heralds' College and go back to the earlier form with the nails introduced, for there can be no doubt that the arms were intended to tell the story of St. Helena, the patron saint of Colchester and reputed native of the town. Her great achievements, as chronicled in medieval legend, were the finding of the True Cross, the finding of the Holy Nails, and the discovery of the remains of the three Holy Kings or Magi in Asia, to which very great importance was attached owing to the subsequent enshrinement of the three Kings or their reputed remains in Cologne Cathedral. Having regard to the antiquity of the strange and mysterious story of the Three Kings of Colchester and their mystic gifts—beauty, sweetness of breath, and royal wealth and position—which seem to be not unconnected with the three gifts of the Magi, and having regard also to the fact of the arms of Cologne being three gold crowns on a red ground specially in honour of the relics of the three kings, it does not seem improbable that the three crowns, which appropriately glorify the three holy nails, were intended to denote the three Holy Kings, and with the nails and with the cross raguly denoting the True Cross were meant to keep in memory the legendary story of St. Helena and her achievement. Thus the original arms of Colchester, with the three nails and the three crowns, are an interesting and I think beautiful example of symbolic medieval heraldry; it is to be regretted that they were ever supplanted by arms in which this symbolism was unintelligently destroyed.

It is recorded that this charter of 1413 cost the town £16, a considerable sum at that time. I do not know

whether charters were so much plain and so much extra coloured, but the previous charter of Henry IV. with its initial letter only in outline and a blank space never filled up, yet evidently left for illumination, cost only £10. The charter of Henry VII. where the principal initial is omitted altogether, as well as a number of other initials, which were no doubt to have been illuminated if someone would have paid for it, cost only £5.

Of the Books of Records of Colchester the oldest and most important are the Red Paper Book and the Red Parchment Book, both commenced about 1350 and kept simultaneously for several centuries for entries of special moment to the town. The contents are mostly in Latin, a few entries being in Norman-French and some in English. Here is a specimen from the Red Paper Book, part of a Latin entry telling at great length how the Bailiffs of 1374 had restored and beautified the Moot Hall, and further how

“being mindful of the commands of our Lord, where he enjoined us to visit those in prison, and being likewise mindful of injuries to the commonalty in the past through felons escaping from the town gaol and taking sanctuary in the churches; and seeing also the captivity and unbearable sufferings of the wretched prisoners in the foul opening or pit of the gaol of the town aforesaid, they [the Bailiffs] ordained, inasmuch as God had touched their hearts and their bodies, that for the relief of the said prisoners there should be at the entry of the said hall, two wooden posts, with iron spikes and topped with lead. To these they caused supports to be attached with strong iron chains, so that there, placed without the said gaol, the prisoners might stand, sit, lie, and rest, and beg their necessities from those who pass by.”

A fairly vivid picture this of bygone times and manners, and of municipal efficiency combined with economy. Other entries in this book record the burning of a Colchester weaver outside Colkyngs Castle in 1429, for heresy; a Trial by Battle which took place in 1375; and hundreds of other matters and incidents, many of them curious and illustrative of history and manners and customs.

The Red Parchment Book, being of parchment throughout, is less decayed than its companion volume of paper. It remains in its ancient wooden boards, possibly its original binding, contains some good specimens of early writing, and many curious entries including the story of King Coel of Colchester, his

daughter St. Helena, her husband Constantius and her son Constantine. This story was entered about the year 1370, or perhaps earlier. It is a curiosity, but scarcely of any value as an historical record. The Red Parchment Book was later on known as the Oath Book, from the fact that it became a Repository for the oaths which were administered to various corporate officers. The swearing in of all officials, and in fact of anybody and everybody, on the smallest excuse, was quite a fine art here in ancient times. We do not swear so much in Colchester now-a-days—at least not in the artistic way our forefathers did. They even made the porters of the riverside swear before they were allowed to be porters. It is not thought necessary at the present time to provide any compulsory oaths for our riverside porters, but our Mayor, and our Town Clerk, and a few other officials, swear the same antique oaths which their predecessors used about seven hundred years ago, though in several cases those oaths are now incomprehensible and in other instances are quite inappropriate. There are over one hundred different oaths in this volume, some of them of great length and strength.

As for the other books and records, I must let them speak for themselves for the most part. Thousands of parchment rolls, representing the court records of nearly four centuries, are carefully preserved and packed away in the Colchester muniment room. The rolls are full of local interest, and sometimes have entries throwing light on ancient manners and customs. They ought all to be printed in full from beginning to end and indexed thoroughly, and I hope they will be. This applies, too, to the Sessions Rolls, which are similar though they did not begin until the reign of Elizabeth. It applies also to the Court Books and Sessions Books, except that these perhaps might be summarised. The Chamberlains' Accounts are also of considerable interest. The Chamberlains were the borough treasurers. Their accounts show a tendency to expend public money on banquetting. By way of conclusion I will give an example, not previously published, taken from one of the Assembly Books of Queen Elizabeth's time. The incident was in 1577. In that year the Bailiffs, Justices,

and Aldermen determined to deal with the local brewers, but not with a view to restricting drink. A meeting was held on December, 1576, and it was decided that the brewers should only be allowed to charge 8s. a barrel of 36 gallons for the best beer and 4s. 4*l.* (*or three half-pence a gallon*) for the common beer; also "that such quantite of the said common bere be brewed that the inhabitants do not want thereof," and the beer "to be of that goodnes as the said Bailiffs shall lyke of." A few months later they decided to further reduce the price, viz. to 6s. a barrel for "double beer" and 4s. a barrel for "three halfpenny beer." Severe fines were also ordained in case the beer should be deficient in quality or insufficient in quantity to supply the needs of the thirsty burgesses. The Bailiffs had the brewers summoned before them, and on October 31st, 1577, the new regulations were read out "publicly and in a loud voice," so says the record. The brewers begged leave to confer, and were allowed a short time for that purpose. On returning before the Bailiffs, Recorder, and Aldermen the brewers replied that they were "unwilling to fulfil the ordinance aforesaid or to deliver beer at the prices specified." Upon which, so says the Latin record, "the said Bailiffs, Recorder, and Aldermen pleasantly and good humouredly (*leviter et affabiliter*) persuaded and exhorted the same brewers, in le Motehall aforesaid for the space of one hour."

But the brewers still "contumaciously and obstinately refused." Whereupon the said Bailiffs, Recorder, and Aldermen ordered the said brewers to enter into recognisances of £40 a piece to answer for their contempt, but the said brewers "contumaciously replied that they were not willing to be bound in the manner of recognisance." Upon which "by command of the Bailiffs, with the assent of the Aldermen aforesaid," the said brewers were committed forthwith to prison, "until such time as they were willing to sell and deliver their hopped drinks to the burgesses and inhabitants at the prices aforesaid."

On the very next day, November 1st, the Bailiffs raided the premises of the imprisoned brewers and made an inventory of their goods and stock-in-trade, preparatory to seizing them by way of distraint.

Then on November 2nd the "Twenty Four good free and legal men of the town" were summoned with all haste to a special session at the Moot Hall, "to enquire into the said divers contempts of the said Brewers." But by this time the Brewers had had enough. They were brought from prison into the court, but before the twenty-four good and legal men of the jury had been sworn, the said brewers offered to comply with the ordinance, and "humbly submitted themselves to the grace and mercy of the Bailiffs and Justices for their divers contempts."

So the good, free and legal men were discharged and the Bailiffs and Justices, we are told, "out of their grace pardoned and remitted to the same brewers their contempts aforesaid, and their imprisonment," subject, however, to their paying the fees and costs which had been incurred.

The rulers of Colchester were very masterful in those days: whether they were dealing with the terrible mitred abbot of St. John or with the milder prior of St. Botolph, or with recalcitrant brewers, or bakers, or chandlers (these latter had a specially evil time now and then), or with daring persons who presumed to set up school or teach grammar in Colchester in deliberate competition with the official Grammar School Master appointed by the Council. In all these and in many more instances the Bailiffs, Aldermen and Justices continued ever to be masters in their own town, and to trample down opposition or interference with what they called "the liberties of the borough."

Finally, may I add that the modern Council of Colchester, though unable to do things quite in the same way as of old, is also very jealous of the ancient rights and history of its town, very zealous in the preservation of its records, and very desirous, I believe, that, as far as money and the wholesome fear of the ratepayers will allow, these records shall gradually be transcribed and printed, fully and faithfully, which after all is the best way of preserving them effectually for future generations.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CAMULODUNUM BY BOADICEA.

By HENRY LAVER, F.S.A.¹

I have chosen this subject for my paper although I have no doubt that most people are familiar with the narrative of that frightful act of vengeance recorded by Tacitus and those other historians who have copied him more or less correctly. The reasons which have induced me to again describe this revolt are that I wish to try to show that the accounts given by the late Rev. Henry Jenkins, which he was unfortunately allowed to publish in *Archaeologia*,² was not serious history at all, but simply a distortion of facts to suit his fanciful theories. That there is necessity for some warning that Mr. Jenkins' account is of no value and incorrect, is seen in the record by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth in the *Archaeological Journal*³ of the meeting of this Institute in Colchester in 1876. In this report it is apparent that he was misled by Mr. Jenkins' map and description in the paper I have previously referred to of the position of Camulodunum at Lexden. In this map are marked the intrenchments which surround an area in which the British city was situate in Mr. Jenkins' opinion.

Had Mr. Scarth examined this area carefully he would have convinced himself that it could not have been the site of the British city, as in all the intrenchments the fosse is on the western side. And therefore one trench or ditch must have been inside the camp or city. Anyone who will take the trouble to refer to Mr. Jenkins' paper in *Archaeologia*, although it is hardly worth while, will find on the map the lines of intrenchments laid down on three sides, but there is no mark indicating a rampart towards the north. On the eastern side, that towards Colchester, the intrenchments are so irregularly formed that the most cursory examination will disclose

¹ Read at the Colchester Meeting of the Institute, 30th July, 1907.

² xxix, 256.

³ xxxiii, 325.

the fact that they never could have been erected to protect a British city on this site. Mr. Jenkins, when necessary to support his theory, ignored completely portions of the intrenchments, as for instance that on the west, where he left out the portion from near the Stanway Union House to the river Colne at Newbridge. He also left out the continuance of that parallel to the straight road which extends nearly to Bottle End, and the result is that the map, like the rest of the paper, is of no value at all, but instead most misleading and mischievous.

Anyone without preconceived theories endeavouring to determine the site of British Camulodunum—for it is I suppose taken for granted that Colchester is Camulodunum—will find three intrenchments, from north to south across what was formerly Lexden Heath, the first beginning at the Colne at Newbridge and ending at the Roman river near Stanway Hall, and known for ages as Grymes Dyke or the outer ditch of Wyldenhey. Inside this at a short distance, close beside the straight road and to the eastward of the first, is a second dyke easily traced from one river nearly to the other. This dyke has no name, and then inside this again is another, and all of them have the ditch on the western side. There are other intrenchments in this area, but from their imperfect condition their object is not clear. From the position of these three main dykes it is, I think, plainly evident, as I have mentioned before, that the large triangular area inclosed by the Roman river on the south, the river Colne on the east and north, and these three dykes on the west, was the site of British Camulodunum, an area capable of affording protection to a large population, with their cattle for their support, as was customary in any of the principal cities of the Ancient Britons. When the Romans under Aulus Plautius invaded Britain in A.D. 43 they came with an army, including those joining later under Claudius, of over 80,000 men, and their objective was Camulodunum, a large and important centre; and therefore the little area previously referred to could hardly have sufficed, but the larger triangular space would answer the purpose admirably. Had the smaller space been the original city it would

have been easy for the Romans to have fortified it, and we should not read in Tacitus that there was neither wall or rampart around Camulodunum when Boadicea attacked it. Several papers by the Rev. Henry Jenkins are of the same Stukeley-like character, theories first and then facts made to fit them. I should not have referred to these papers but for the grave mistakes which, in my opinion, they contain, and but for the false authority given them by their position in *Archæologia*.

It is evident that the Rev. Prebendary Scarth used the paper in *Archæologia* when preparing his report of the Colchester meeting, and here again an air of authority is given by its position in the *Journal*. Naturally those members of the Society attending this meeting will have referred to the report in the *Journal* to enable them to get some information as to what occurred at the last Colchester meeting, and it is my desire to prevent these errors being accepted as facts.

I propose to briefly examine the causes which led to the revolts of the British under Boadicea and its results, using local knowledge to illustrate the events as recorded in the third volume of the *Annals of Tacitus*, and for this purpose I shall use the well known translation by Murphy published in 1805.

Tacitus tells us that Suetonius, the Roman governor and general, had undertaken an expedition against the Druid stronghold in the island of Mona, having with him the greater part of the Roman garrisons of the south-eastern portion of Britain, and that while he was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island, after his victory over the enemy, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted and that the whole province was in arms.

The historian then breaks off in his narrative to describe the causes which led to this revolt. He states that Prasutagus, the late King of the Iceni, in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and to the Emperor in equal shares; the King died in A.D. 61, and it was this unfortunate will that caused all the troubles which afflicted the Roman colonists and led to the destruction of so many lives. The statement that Prasutagus

in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth may fairly lead us to assume that this wealth consisted of the precious metals, and not that form of wealth, cattle and such like, which constitute the riches of a Kaffir chief for instance at the present day ; and the historian in speaking of a long reign could hardly have meant the seventeen years since the Romans had conquered some large part of Britain. This idea of the wealth being in gold and silver is not necessarily contradicted by the fact that we do not find any coins inscribed with this prince's name, because his coinage might have been uninscribed, and possibly the numerous uninscribed Iceni coins discovered were minted by this king. I have dwelt on this will because I think it has an important bearing on the question whether there is any evidence that money was in circulation in Britain before A.D. 43, the year of the invasion by the Emperor Claudius, and also as proving that the British were not simply barbarians, as we were always taught in our school days.

If the statements of Tacitus are correct, Boadicea was brutally handled by the Roman colonists, who seemed to consider that the whole country was bequeathed by the will of Prasutagus to them, and the veterans lately planted as a colony at Camulodunum treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another serious cause of discontent from the conduct of the priests. To overrun a colony which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was that the Roman generals attended to the improvements of taste and elegance but neglected the useful. They embellished the province and took no care to defend it.

Tacitus in describing the occurrences of this period tells us that awful portents were seen and heard just before Boadicea started on her career of destruction.

By the appearance of these portents the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. In this alarming crisis the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for reinforcements. Two hundred men, and these not completely

armed, were all that that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made, no palisade was thrown up, nor were the women and such as were disabled by age or infirmity sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared they were taken by surprise, and in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the barbarians in one general assault, and the colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out, but after a siege of two days it was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the Ninth Legion, marched to the relief of the place, but the Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The Legion was put to the rout and the infantry were cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his intrenchments, while Catus Decianus, alarmed at the scene of carnage he beheld, betook himself to flight and escaped into Gaul.

Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as London, a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants and a great mart of trade and commerce. Here he proposed to make his headquarters, but, changing his mind, gave orders to march and leave London to its fate; though he offered to take charge of and try to defend all those able and willing to follow him. Many for various reasons determined to remain behind; of these not one escaped the rage of the barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium, a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword.

The number massacred in the places which have been mentioned amounted to no less than 70,000, all citizens or allies of Rome. The Fourteenth Legion, with the veterans of the Twentieth and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than 10,000 men. Thus reinforced, he resolved without loss of time to bring on a decisive action. The Britons, nothing loath, soon gratified his wishes, and the well-known engagement soon took

place, the Britons being defeated with the loss of at least 80,000 persons, Boadicea afterwards poisoning herself. The Roman loss was about 400, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Thus ended the greater dangers of this revolt, but the further record of proceedings we will pass over as they have no connection with our subject.

It will be seen by these quotations from Tacitus that Boadicea attacked Camulodunum first, and that when she had utterly destroyed all the inhabitants, she proceeded to London, which she treated in like manner, and then wiped out Verulam as thoroughly as the two other towns. It would appear that soon after Boadicea had destroyed Verulam she was met by Suetonius, and the great battle which decided the Roman supremacy shortly followed. Numerous places have been suggested for the site of this engagement, but so far without anything definite being decided, excepting that it is not likely to have been in Essex, where there were no garrisons left for her to attack, and therefore no reason why she should return. Possibly she might have been following after Suetonius, or she might have been proceeding towards some of the other Roman stations when he met her; anyway, there could have been no reason for her returning into the Lea valley, where it has often been said that the battle took place. It is much more probable that the western side of Hertfordshire was the site of this terrible carnage. We have seen, according to Tacitus, that when Camulodunum was destroyed in A.D. 63 it had no defences in any shape. It could not, therefore, have been at Lexden, where, according to Mr. Jenkins and the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the present earthworks were those of British Camulodunum. The position of Roman Camulodunum was almost certainly where Colchester, within the walls, now stands. For this opinion there are several reasons. One is, on comparing it with other British cities we find that like them its size was too great for the Roman requirements, and therefore they only took a small part of the area and fortified it in their accustomed manner as they did at Silchester and many other extensive British camps.

The late Dr. Duncan in his paper on the Roman Wall of Colchester, published in the *Essex Archaeological Transactions*,¹ gave reasons for considering that the still existing Town Wall was erected in the beginning of the second century A.D. This accords very well with the fact that there was no protecting wall or trench when it was overrun by Boadicea in A.D. 63, and the Romans being pre-eminently a practical people, would have taken care never to have risked another attack in an unprotected condition. In the opinion of some, the walls were built at a later period than that stated by Dr. Duncan, but whenever built, there is one fact which proves that they were not built before A.D. 63. It will be seen by an inspection of the wall that the earth from the ditch, outside or from elsewhere, has been piled up inside the wall, thus raising the surface inside considerably. That this was done when the wall was built cannot be gainsaid, because whenever for any purpose the inside of the wall has been exposed the mortar in the joints shows the marks of the trowel, and is as smooth as if done yesterday, which would not be the case had it been exposed to the weather for even one winter.

In all parts of the wall on the west and south—I mention these sides from having seen what I am about to describe—this earth is piled over remains of Roman houses, and in one place in Priory Street I observed that the wall was built over and stood on the ruins of a house. Every one of these houses, without exception, showed that it was destroyed by fire, as did some just outside the wall on the west, near St. Mary's church. I am not given to theorizing, but I feel that here I may safely suggest that these ruins seen under the wall, and beneath the earth inside the wall, are remains of Roman houses destroyed by the Boadicean revolt.

If this be so, it is an important argument for Dr. Duncan's suggestion that the wall was built not earlier than the second century, and that Roman Camulodunum stood in the area inclosed by the present walls.

¹ Vol. i, 5.

THE ESSEX SACKVILLES.¹

By J. HORACE ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

Just outside the borough boundary of Colchester, the boundary of its ancient liberty, there lies the village of West Bergholt, otherwise named in former times Bergholt Sackville, which is thus distinguished from East Bergholt, Constable's Bergholt, lying in the valley of the Stour. West Bergholt, with Mount Bures, which is divided from it by Fordham parish, formed, in the twelfth century, the estate of the Sackvilles, and I hold therefore that the mount, or *motte*, from which this Bures is named, and which still adjoins its Norman church, a frequent and significant conjunction, represents the castle of the Sackvilles.

These two manors, Mount Bures and Bergholt, were held at the time of the Domesday Survey (1086), by Roger of Poitou, the lord of the honour of Lancaster, and thus it came about that in 1212 Geoffry de "Sakeville" was returned as holding them as two knights' fees of the honour of Lancaster.² Unlike the majority of Norman houses, the Sackvilles were destined to a long continuance, and eventually attained the highest rank, in the peerage of this country. We would seek, therefore, to know from what part they came when they settled in the neighbourhood of Colchester. It is not always easy to trace the origin of a Norman house; even when we are sure of the right form of its name, that name may belong to more than one Norman village.

Now in Normandy we have a Sacquenville (Eure), near Evreux, a Garcelles-Secqueville, S.W. of Caen, a Secqueville-en-Bessin (Calvados), E.S.E. of Bayeux, and a Sauqueville in the Seine Inférieure. The author of that mischievous book, *The Norman People*, which deals specially with these matters, ignored all four, and derived

¹ Read at the Colchester meeting of the Institute, July 24th, 1907.

² *Liber Rubeus*, 590.

the family from "Sageville, Isle of France."¹ Moreover, he definitely identified the Essex with the Devonshire family.² In both these errors he was, as usual, followed by the Duchess of Cleveland in her work, by no means without value, on *The Battle Abbey Roll*.³

Now the first thing we have to do is to realise that the Essex and the Devon families were wholly distinct in origin. The former were Sackvilles; the latter were Seckvilles,⁴ and this distinction, the *a* and the *e*, is clearly marked throughout the text of *The Red Book of the Erchequer*. In the official edition, however, the editor has carefully and deliberately muddled them up in the index. From the form of the name we may, I think, safely derive the Devon family from Secqueville in the Calvados.

Of the origin of the Essex house I can speak more positively. Those who have travelled to Paris by the Dieppe and Rouen line will have followed, after leaving Dieppe, the little valley of the Scie, a small flat valley bordered by low hills partly covered with the characteristic spindle-shanked trees of the district. In this valley our Essex Sackvilles had their Norman home. Sauqueville is now a dull village, in which a gaunt schoolhouse is the chief edifice; but a few houses have the Norman equivalent of our English post and pan work. Beyond it you come to Anneville-sur-Scie, which is found, with West Bergholt, among the Sackvilles' possessions; and further on, you come to Longueville-la-Giffard, the home of that mighty race, where Walter Giffard founded his priory of Sainte Foy, a house to which our Sackvilles were benefactors.⁵ Lastly, you reach that Heugleville-sur-Scie, of which Gulbert de Heugleville was lord, Gulbert of whom Mr. Freeman wrote that he should be "in English eyes the noblest of the men who followed William," for, after the Conquest, he "turned away, refusing lands and honours in the

¹ 391, 410.

² See page 410. The family is also dealt with under "Sackville" at page 387.

³ iii, 398.

⁴ This name was Latinised as *Sicca Villa*. (*Cf. Feudal Aids*, i.)

⁵ See below. A connection with the

Giffards is further indicated by writs of Henry I. to Jordan de "Saceevilla" and to Walter Giffard concerning the same land (*Abingd. Cart.*, ii, 85), and by the fact that a William de Saukeville was holding one knight's fee of Earl Walter Giffard in 1166.

conquered island, and went back to his Norman home, choosing rather to hold with a good right the modest heritage of his fathers than to stain his hands with wealth which was won only by wrong and robbery."

To the lucky chance that his son Walter, who succeeded him as a young man in 1079, went to Sauqueville for a bride, we are indebted for our earliest mention of the Sackville family. For Avice de Sackville was a pious girl who attended mass and "hours" daily, and, above all, befriended monks. This her husband, in his giddy youth, had failed to do; but Avice taught him better. She presented him with twelve children in fifteen years, and then died, whereupon her epitaph was written by no less distinguished a chronicler than Orderic Vitalis. It is he who speaks of her three brothers, Jordan, William, and Robert de Sackville as *tres praeclaros milites*.¹

The first known Sackville of Bergholt and Bures is Robert, the youngest of the three, who lived about the time of Henry I. and Stephen. This Robert became a monk in St. John's Abbey, Colchester, and the price he paid for his admission was his manor of Wickham, Suffolk, which he bestowed upon the abbey in the presence and by the permission of King Stephen's son and heir, count Eustace.² From the confirmation of his son Jordan we learn that Robert's gift was made with the consent of his wife, Letitia, and of his sons and heirs (*filiorum et heredum*), Jordan and Stephen, a formula which suggests that he held Wickham in right of his wife. Robert was also a benefactor to St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester, to which he gave land at Fordham.³ When King Stephen, before his accession, founded Furness abbey in 1127, as lord of the honour of Lancaster, this Robert was a witness to the foundation charter,⁴ and the Stephen de "Saukevill" who held

¹ Orderic here gives the name as "Salchevilla."

² See *Colchester Cartulary*, Roxburghe Club, 51, 113, 131, etc. In the charter of donation (of which the original is now in the Bodleian), the name appears as "Salchevilla," and in the relative documents it is "Saukevilla,"

but "Saucevilla" and "Sacavilla" in Stephen's confirmation of the gift.

³ *De feudo Roberti de Sakevill totam terram quam habent in Fordham* (*Charter of Richard I.*, 1189).

⁴ Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 392.

Mendham (Suffolk) of that honour in 1175–1181, was just possibly his son.

Robert had apparently acted at one time as *dapifer* to Stephen, for he so attests a charter of his as count of Mortain, concerning Winchester,¹ and he subsequently attested a charter of his as king, at Rouen in 1137, his name then appearing as Robert “de Sauquevilla,”² and others at Colchester and at Ipswich.³ But the first definite mention of Robert in connection with his future king is in 1120, when, after the disaster of the “White Ship,” the garrison of Mortain, we read, were specially conspicuous in searching along the coast for the bodies of the drowned, because almost all the barons and best knights of the *comté* had been lost. Count Stephen himself with Robert de Sackville (*Salcavilla*) and another lord alone escaped.⁴

Jordan, Robert's son and heir in Essex, had a dispute with Robert de Torigny, the famous abbot of Mont St. Michel,⁵ which was solemnly settled at Caen in 1157.⁶ About the same time he witnessed a charter of Stephen's son William, count of Boulogne, Mortain and Warenne, at Coutances,⁷ while a charter of Henry II. in 1155, had confirmed to Longueville priory the gift of Jordan “de Saukevilla,” and the tithe of the land which Jordan gave with his daughter in marriage.⁸ He granted to St. John's Abbey that the four monks who were to have been established at Wickham to pray for his father's soul, should thenceforth serve God in the abbey itself,⁹ reserving to himself or any of his brothers the right to be received as a monk there; and Nigel¹⁰ is now mentioned as a brother as well as Stephen. It is

¹ *Merton Cartulary*, Cott. MS. Cleopatrina, cvii, No. 138, fol. 77.

² See my *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, 373–4.

³ *Colchester Cartulary*, 33.

⁴ *Municipes Moritolii præ ceteris suos obnixæ quæsierunt, quia pene omnes illius comitatus barones et electi optiones perierunt. Solus comes . . . et duo milites, Robertus de Salcavilla et Gualterius egressi sunt (Ord. Vit.)* The French editor observes that Robert came, he thinks, from Sauqueville, not from the Mortain district, in which he is right. He adds that a charter of

William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, is witnessed by him and his two elder brothers.

⁵ It is remarkable that Jordan is a Breton name.

⁶ *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., Rolls Series, iv, 339.

⁷ See my *Calendar of Documents*, 343.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁹ *Colchester Cartulary*, 132.

¹⁰ A Nigel de Sackville was excommunicated by Becket in 1171 for having seized Harrow church.

noteworthy that not only his mother Letitia, but Bartholomew de Glanville, joined in this grant,¹ for which Jordan received consideration both in money and in land.

Conversely, too, when Bartholomew de Glanville confirmed his father William's gifts at Bactun to Bronholme priory, Norfolk, the first lay witness to his charter is Jordan de Sackville, who takes precedence even of all the Glanvilles who are witnesses.² We note also that the name of Bartholomew's daughter, as of Jordan's mother, was Letitia.³

In the next generation Geoffrey de Sackville further increased the Wickham endowment, and it is significant that to his two grants⁴ (1189-1193) the first three witnesses are Hubert (Walter), bishop of Salisbury, Bartholomew his brother, and William de Glanville, for this points to a very interesting East Anglian family connection, Hubert Walter's father, and Ranulf de Glanville, the great justiciar, being the husbands of two sisters.

We now come to the important marriage which connected the Sackvilles with Sussex. Jordan, known to the monks of Colchester as Jordan de Sackville the second, married Ela, daughter of Ralph de Dene, founder of Otham abbey adjoining Hailsham in Sussex about 1180.⁵ Ela inherited not only the patronage of Otham abbey, but several Sussex manors, among which was Buckhurst from which the Sackvilles eventually took their title when they were raised to the peerage. In Sussex Ela is chiefly memorable for having granted to the canons of her father's abbey permission to remove to Bayham abbey as being pleasanter quarters. In Essex her dower is the subject of a most interesting agreement entered on a Pipe Roll of John's reign. After the death of Jordan de Sackville, by whom she had a son and heir, Geoffrey, she took for a husband William de Marci of

¹ Illam elemosinam Jordanus cum matre sua Letitia et Bartholomeo de Glanvilla super altare sancti Johannis obtulit. *Ibid.* 132.

² The best text of this charter is in Napier and Stevenson's *Crawford Charters* (in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*), 33. But it is also given in the *Monasticon*, v. 63.

³ A Bartholomew de Sackville, and

a Jordan de Glanville, are found in charters.

⁴ *Colchester Cartulary*, 133. They are also witnessed by Otho, sheriff of Essex.

⁵ If it was this Jordan who married Clementia, daughter and co-heiress of William de Chesney of Norfolk, that must have been a previous marriage.

Faulkbourne, son of Ralf de Marci. Him again she survived, and held the vill of Faulkbourne, which he had granted her in dower, and his gift in which she confirmed to St. John's Abbey by her charter granted, as befitted a great lady, in her maiden name of Ela de Dene.¹

But the agreement of which I speak refers to her previous dower. By that agreement she granted to Geoffrey de Sackville her son the dower given her by Jordan his father, her former husband, in Bergholt and elsewhere in England, and in "Aneville" and elsewhere in Normandy. Here you will observe we have that Anneville which, as I showed, adjoins Sauqueville. Now come the curious details. She reserves to herself four mercates of rent in Bergholt, of which thirty shillings were due from Newbridge mill,² and the rest from other holdings including that of Ælfgar "de la Milende," evidently that same Milend which still adjoins Colchester on the north. In the further arrangements Geoffrey grants her his mills at Mount Bures; but the point I wish to make is that Newbridge mill, like Newbridge itself, was known by that name seven centuries ago.

The Lady Ela had sons by both husbands, and accordingly we find her sons witnessing as Geoffrey de Sackville and Ralf de Marci his brother.³ The position of Ela's first husband, Jordan, in the Sackville pedigree, seems not to be demonstrated, but I gather that he was the Jordan son of Jordan of the *Colchester Cartulary*,⁴ and that he must therefore have succeeded his brother Geoffrey. But the matter is complicated by an interesting charter in the British Museum⁵ by which Jordan de Saunqwill confirms, by permission of his wife Clemence⁶ and his heir Jordan, a gift of land in England made by G. dean of the church of "Saunqwill" and its whole chapter.⁷

¹ *Colchester Cartulary*, 213-4.

² "De Molendino de novo ponte xxx solidos per manus Vavasuri."

³ "Gaufrido de Saukevilla; Radulfo de Marci fratre suo." *Colchester Cartulary*, 355, 356.

These half-brothers occur several times in records of John's reign as owing a large sum for offences against the forest.

⁴ 129.

⁵ Add. MS. 9810. I owe my knowledge of this charter to Mr. H. J. Ellis.

⁶ This was clearly Clemence, second daughter and co-heiress of William de Chesney. *Essex Arch. Trans.* N.S. viii, 194.

⁷ "Decani Ecclesie B. Marie de Saunqwill totiusque capituli." This chapter is spoken of in 1201 by Walter, archbishop of Rouen, who mentions that Jordan de Sauqueville had founded two prebends there. Toussaints Duplessis, *Description de la Haute Normandie*, i, 167.

To this charter John de "Hosbermesnil" is a witness. He clearly took his name from Aubermesnil, which is near Sauqueville and Anneville.

I now turn to another branch of these Sackvilles who settled in this neighbourhood and were similarly benefactors to the Colchester abbey of St. John. A water-mill begins their story. We read in Domesday, under Rivenhall, "*medietatem molini abstulit Ricardus de Sackevilla*," that is to say, literally translated, "Richard de Sackville has taken away a moiety of the mill." This has always been supposed to be the only mention of him in Domesday; but I pursued that moiety of a mill. I looked on the other side of the Blackwater which divides Rivenhall from Great Braxted (one passes it coming by train from London) and there I found the mystic words, *mo. dim. mol.* In other words, "there is now half a mill," which means that it was not there before. When we find that the lord of the manor was named Richard, we at once put the facts together; here we have that Richard de Sackville who had grabbed the half of Rivenhall mill, that is, the half of its profits.¹ And if further proof were needed (which it is not) it is found in the fact that William de Sackville gave at a later period to St. John's Abbey, Colchester, a rent charge of five shillings described as due from Rivenhall mill to the manor of Braxted. We thus identify the Domesday lord of Braxted as Richard de Sackville, and are enabled to trace the descent of the manor, as we shall find, to his heirs.

Before I pass to these heirs and to the great fight for his inheritance, I must glance at the form of the name used by these lords of Braxted. In Domesday it is "Sachevilla"; in the *Colchester Cartulary* it is "Sakevilla," "Sakavilla," "Saccavilla"; and in John of Salisbury's report on the dispute, "Saccavilla." The same cartulary contains, for the Bergholt and Bures house, the forms "Sacavilla," "Sakavilla," "Sakovilla," as well as "Saukevilla," so that I see no reason to doubt that both were branches of the house of Sauqueville, although their exact relationship is not shewn. I mention this because M. Léopold Delisle, the great Norman authority,

¹ I explained this when writing on Domesday in *The Victoria History of Essex*, i.

has inserted the Richard of Domesday in his well-known Dives Roll as "Richard de Sacquenville."

The fight for William de Sackville's heirship is the *cause célèbre* of the twelfth century; not because of its intrinsic importance, but because his nephew has left to us his personal narrative of the whole struggle. This is a document unique in character and of great historical value, for it shows us a private individual brought by his troubles into contact with great men and great events and viewing them only as they bore on his own personal concerns. It is a glimpse of history behind the scenes; the knight of the nameless effigy leaps, as it were, into life.

Sir Francis Palgrave printed and discussed this narrative in his *English Commonwealth* (1832),¹ and it was subsequently dealt with by Mr. Bigelow,² Mr. Hubert Hall,³ and the late Professor Maitland.⁴ But everyone has been admittedly at sea, both as to the Sackville pedigree and as to the lands in dispute; and Mr. Hall's *excursus* on the subject has only increased the confusion.

Although he alleges that "Richard de Anesti's narrative of his great lawsuit is taken literally from the existing manuscript, as printed and translated by Mr. Francis Palgrave" (250), collation proves that the whole of the opening portion of the narrative (98-99), though undistinguished from the rest, is an addition of his own. And its opening words, "It is now thirty years ago that William de Sackville, my uncle, died" (98), which are supposed to be spoken in 1177, are at direct variance with Mr. Hall's own conclusion (210), that this William de Sackville "died *circa* 1158." Moreover, although Mr. Hall is very severe on his predecessors for repeating and even inventing blunders,⁵ he introduces a definite statement affecting the pedigree, which has

¹ ii, pp. v-xxvii, lxxv-lxxxvii.

² *Placita*, 311.

³ *Court Life under the Plantagenets* (1890), 99 *et seq.* 209-212, 214-5.

⁴ *History of English Law* (1895), i, 137-8; ii, 365.

⁵ "Of course, every writer since Morant has copied his blunder and Palgrave's, and the date 1199 has actually been assigned for the death of Richard

de Anesti, on the strength of the interpolated "relief," hazarded by Palgrave . . . but those who copy blindly, without troubling to check references, have only themselves to blame. But this is not the worst, for . . . the above writers have actually invented (as it seems to me)," etc., etc. (215).

given me much trouble, but which appears to be based on some confusion of his own.¹

The combination of my Domesday discovery with the evidence in the *Colchester Cartulary* clears up the difficulty. For we now know that Great Braxted was William de Sackville's inheritance in dispute; and we find further that the Braxted Sackvilles were a distinct line from those at Bergholt, though doubtless of the same stock. Summarising the tale of the dispute, it appears that William de Sackville married Adeliza described as daughter of Aubrey the Sheriff, that is, of course, of Aubrey de Vere, the builder probably of the noble keep at Castle Hedingham. William, however, was claimed as husband by another Essex lady, Aubrée (*Albreda*), daughter of Geoffrey Tregoz of Tolleshunt Tregoz,² on the then familiar ground of pre-contract. A papal rescript followed, and the case was heard in the ecclesiastical Council of London, in 1141 or 1143, when a divorce was pronounced between William and Adeliza, the lady, I think, subsequently marrying two Essex men.³ Aubrée Tregoz thus became William de Sackville's lawful wife. But, before the divorce, William had by Adeliza de Vere, a daughter Mabel, who married Richard de Franqueville. Thus at William's death, there were two claimants to his estate; one was Mabel de Franqueville, the issue of the dissolved marriage; the other was William's sister's son, Richard de "Anesty," a tenant of the honour of Boulogne,⁴ whose seat was at Anstey in Herts, and who claimed that his uncle had died without lawful issue. This explains why it was that the *Colchester Cartulary* contained confirmations by both the claimants, Mabel de Franqueville with her husband, and Richard de "Anesty," of William's death-bed gift from Braxted to the monks,⁵ Mabel

¹ "We also learn from the litigation between his nephew and his cousin Mabel de Francheville, that William de Sackville's father was alive in 1143 . . . After all, some emendation is perhaps to be allowed in the face of the reputed descent of Richard de Anesti's uncle (William de Sackville) from a father who flourished in 1079, but who can be proved to have been alive in 1143" (210-211).

² See my paper on Tregoz of Tolleshunt Tregoz (now Tolleshunt Darcy) in *Essex Arch. Soc.* N.S. viii, 330.

³ (1) Robert de Essex, and (2) Roger Fitz Richard of Clavering (and Warkworth).

⁴ As were also the Tregoz family.

⁵ 164.

not asserting her relationship to the deceased, but Richard styling him his uncle (*avunculus*). A third party was William's lawful widow, Aubrée, who testified to the fact of her husband's death-bed gift in her presence.¹ It is noteworthy that John of Salisbury distinctly states that monks from St. John's Abbey were with William at his death, and that Richard de Anesty in his confirmation speaks of his uncle then assuming their monk's cowl.

Eventually, as we learn from Richard's narrative, he made good, at ruinous cost, his right to his uncle's lands, and they passed with the rest of his estates from the Anestys, through the Munchensis, to a branch of the great Essex house of De Vere.

¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

TRACES OF SAXONS AND DANES IN THE EARTH- WORKS OF ESSEX.¹

By the late I. CHALKLEY GOULD, F.S.A.

“An. 787. In his (Beorhtic’s) days first came three ships of Northmen from Haeretha land. And then the reeve rode thereto, and would drive them to the king’s vill, for he knew not what they were, and they there slew him. Those were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race.”

Such is the simple record in the *Saxon Chronicle* which tells of the first coming of those terrible ravagers who for many long years wrought havoc in this fair land. Although our Saxon forbears managed to find time to fight among themselves occasionally, the necessity of opposing the invading Northmen grew overwhelming, and the pages of the *Chronicle* tell of the sad struggle which lasted with only one happy break, more or less continuously from the end of the eighth till well into the eleventh century. In terse but graphic fashion the story of battles is told: now and again we read of Saxon victories, but far too often the record ends by telling us that at the finish of the fight the pagans “had possession of the field of carnage.”

We all know how bravely Alfred carried on the contest, but we also know that that politic king left much of England, including these eastern lands, to Danish rule, an arrangement by which, to use the words of Florence of Worcester, all this fair district became “enslaved to the brutal Danes more than thirty years.” That the

¹ Read at the Colchester meeting of the Institute, 30th July, 1907.

Saxon population did not wholly quit their homesteads is evident from the deeds amongst them of ravaging bands of Danish pirates, and probably intermarriage was frequent between those of the foe who had settled on the land and the former subjects of Saxon kings.

It may be that to this period belongs the foundation of settlements in Essex bearing place-names of Danish origin, but the paucity of such instances is further evidence of the continuation of Saxon occupation of the district comprised within the limits of the present county. The inhabitants of towns, such as Colchester and Maldon, doubtless belonged largely to the Danish military class throughout the period of alien control, but there must also have been a considerable trading community, both Saxon and Danish, following peaceful pursuits.

Following the date of Alfred's famous treaty with Guthrum there was a time of comparative peace in Wessex, yet even those years witnessed raids into various parts of England, and the closing years of the good king's reign were ever shadowed by the danger of further incursions of the pirate Northmen. It is the story of one of these raids, conducted on a scale of sufficient magnitude to justify the term "invasion," which brings us into touch with my subject, the earth-work traces of contest in Essex.

I must ask to be excused for first journeying into Kent, for it was to the south of that county that in 892 or 893 the "great army" of Northmen came over in two hundred and fifty ships to the river Limen, towed their boats four miles up, and wrought a work at Appledore. I have sought in vain for any sign of Danish defensive works there, but the waters of the Limen, or Rother, which drained the great forest of Andred, have long since deserted their old course by Appledore and left a verdure-clad valley where Danish boats once rode. The deep deposit of silt in this hollow (north of Oxney Isle) may have buried the camp we seek, for doubtlessly it was placed near the waterside, as were the Danish works at Milton, Bemflect (now Benfleet), Shoebury and elsewhere. However, I think it far more likely that the Danish stronghold is to be sought in Kenardington, the adjoining

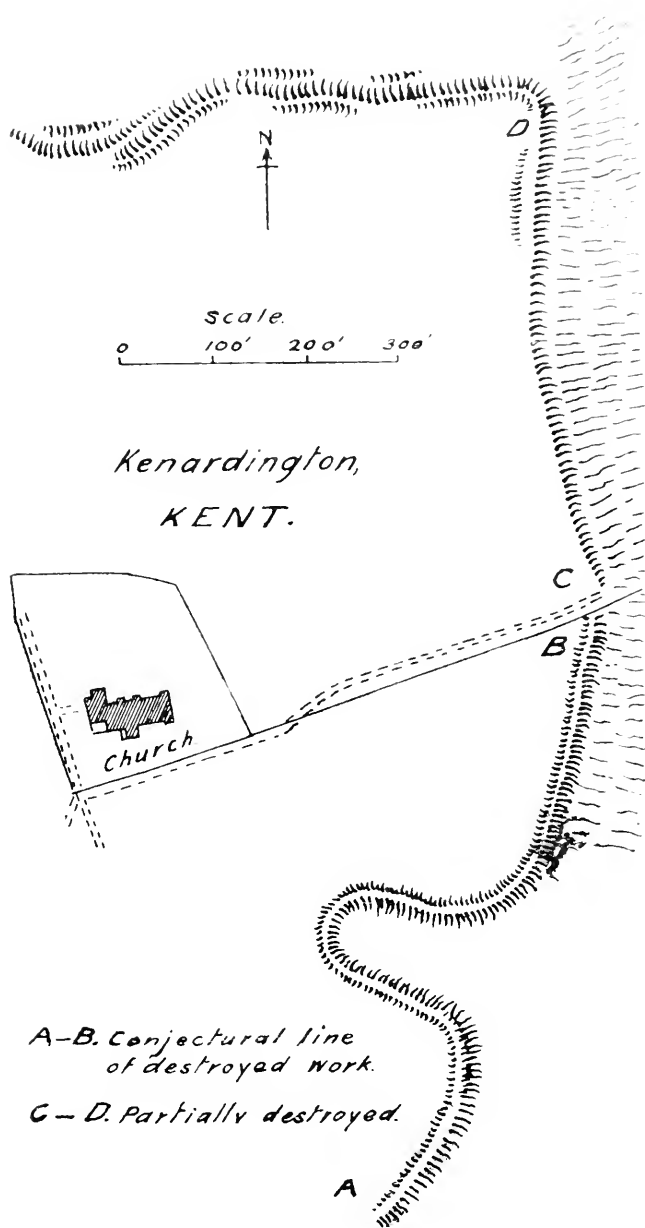


FIG. 1.

parish, for the place-name "Apuldre" need not be regarded as exact location. The *Chronicle* tells us that the Danish landing parties stormed a half-wrought fortress in which only a few countrymen were stationed, and the words of *Æthelwerd's Chronicle* seem to imply that the Danes made it their stronghold.

When the Rother followed its old course, water lapped the foot of the rising ground on which Kenardington church now stands; the marsh is well drained, but the discovery of the remains of ancient boats below the surface leaves no room to doubt the former conditions of the lowland. On the rising ground just below the church are the remains of an ancient camp, but the fragments are poor in the extreme: of its eastern side 600 feet remain, but it evidently extended southward into the adjoining arable field, where it has been ploughed out of sight, while the piece still visible is no more than an eight foot scarp on the slope towards the valley. The destruction of the southern extension is greatly to be regretted, as, according to the view given by Hasted (1790), it presented interesting features; the rampart was carried in a loop up the slope, evidently to cover the access by water and to afford shelter for the war-boats drawn up beneath the protecting ramparts. (See plan, fig. 1.)

About the same time that the "great army" swarmed into the southern parts, Hasten, the prince of pirates, sailed across the channel and wrought a work at Milton, in the north of Kent, near the Swale, then the waterway between the open sea and the river Thames. There is an earthwork at Milton, now called Castle Rough, which antiquaries have claimed to be the Danish camp, but the most casual examination of the remains will show how inadequate a shelter it would have been for the men of Hasten's eighty ships.¹ I am inclined to agree with Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, who many years ago showed the probability that the Danish camp was at Bayford, now in the parish of Sittingbourne, over a mile south or

¹ Though not large enough to serve an army it is probably of early date, and may have sheltered Danish marauders whose boats could lie protected in the water which flooded all the land im-

mediately east and south; or perchance a Saxon or later settler here constructed a strong defence against the Danish enemy.

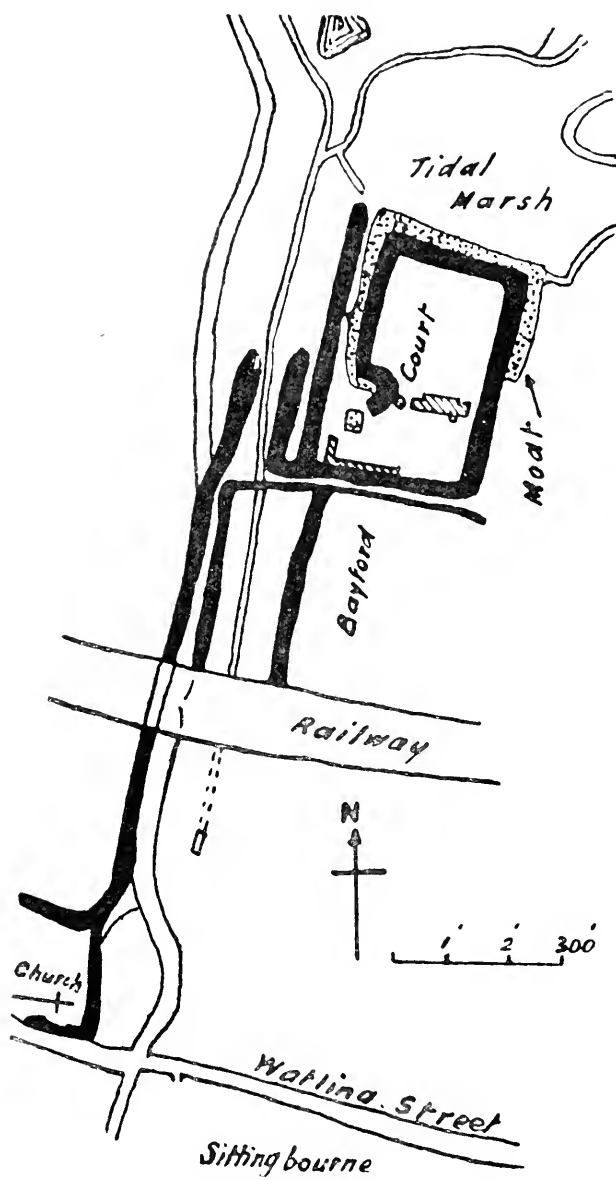


FIG. 2.

Castle Rough, but once served by the same waterway. There he traced lines of banking extending from the rectangular moated enclosure, now occupied by Bayford Court, in a southerly direction. (See plan, fig. 2.)

The shelter afforded by their two strongholds, the one near Appledore, the other by Milton, protected the Danes during the winter, and either in 893 or 894 occurred a series of operations which space will not allow me to dwell upon; suffice it to say that Alfred drove the invaders back from the west, that the Danish forces escaped to Milton, and from thence crossed the Thames to Bemfleet. There Hasten wrought a work, apparently on a large scale, as the *Chronicle* shows that it accommodated the army which had sat at Milton and the "great army" which had been at Appledore.

Alfred, obliged to march rapidly to repel invaders in Devonshire, sent part of his forces to London, and they with the townsmen marched east to the fortress of Bemfleet, from which Hasten had marched on a harrying expedition, leaving the "great army" at home. The Saxons made a desperate attack upon the fortress, captured it, put the great army to flight and took all that was within the work, and brought all to London; the ships they either broke in pieces, or burned, or brought to London or to Rochester. No scrap of bank or moat remains at Bemfleet which can with certainty be assigned to Hasten and his Danes. Some have thought the camp to have been on the high ground east of the town, but no doubt here, as elsewhere, the fortress was close to the water-side, alike for the protection of their boats, and their own escape if necessity should arise.

The church-yard is bounded in parts by a scarp or glacis which may be a fragment of the Danish work. The scarp has a rectangle at the north-west corner from which it extends eastward and southward. The church is near the creek and in just such a position as the Danes loved to entrench upon, but whether or no this scarp is due to them is very open to question. Happily we have circumstantial evidence in connection with the story of the siege of the fortress in 893. As stated above the Saxons burnt some of the Danish boats; when making the railway across the creek below the church, the con-

structors came across burnt boats' timber in considerable quantity, buried far down in the mud and silt. Little time elapsed ere the Danes, driven out of Bemfleet, joined forces again and erected that strong fortress at Shoebury which became a chief shelter for them after their raids into other parts of England. What is left of the Danish stronghold? The sea has washed away about half of it, and the banks of the remaining portion have been sadly mutilated by the War Office authorities, who now occupy the site. Rampart and ditch remain on the south side, while Rampart Street marks the north line. A fraction exists, or did till recently, on the west side, showing a ditch 40 feet wide outside a bank of about 12 feet in height. In fig. 3 on the folding plate, the dotted lines show what has existed, while the hatching indicates the little of this historic fortress that the sea and the War Office have left to our day. The great width of the moat, once in direct communication with the water, enabling the Danes to draw their "wave horses" or war boats under the safeguard of their fortress walls, is a typical feature of the Northmen's work.

Beaten elsewhere at times the marauders made Essex their home, the district to which they ever retired to rest and recruit for fresh enterprises.

Thus we read that in 895, after plundering North Wales, they wended their way by friendly Northumberland and East Anglia "into the eastward part of the East Saxons' land, to an island that is out in the sea, which is called Mereseg" (Mersea).

If we may trust Ethelwerd's *Chronicle*, Mersea figured in the story as the rallying place for the pagan ships in 893, but the entry is confused. There is, however, no doubt of the importance of the island to the Danish pirate forces, and one naturally seeks for earthwork evidence of their presence. There is a great tumulus at the Barrow Farm near the shore, on the north of the island, which very likely may be their memorial, but the search for camp works is vain; the whole island may be traversed and the only defensive enclosure found will be the large moated area on the hill at East Mersea. (See plan, fig. 4.) This I believe to be the site of a defended Saxon settlement which included the thane's

hall, worker's huts, space for cattle shelter, and perhaps then, as now, a Christian church. It may be likened to other such great village enclosures in Essex, and its formidable moat regarded as a protection against wolves, other wild beasts and Danish foes, rather than a stronghold of the latter, whose works were more often placed near the water they loved so well, accessible by boat as well as by land. Of course if East Mersea moat already existed, the Danes may have made some use of the

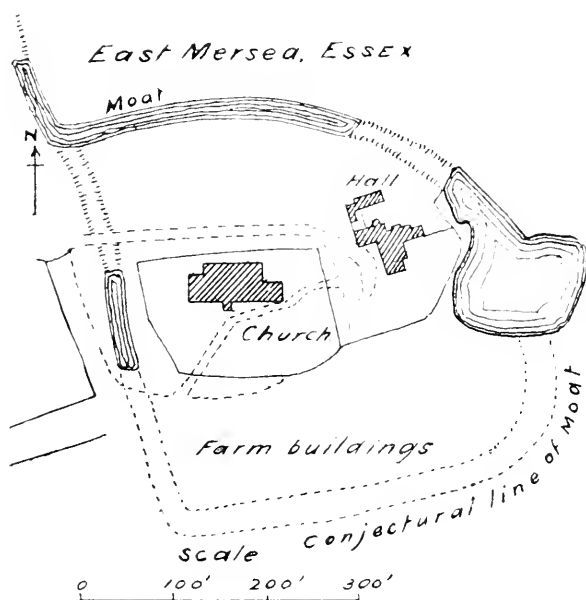


FIG. 4.

defended enclosure, but there is no evidence to indicate whether it was constructed prior or subsequently to Hasten's days, and there was abundant need for such defence long after that redoubtable leader had gone the way of all flesh. East Mersea moat has long since been largely destroyed, but enough remains to indicate its importance. The sea has played tricks with Mersea Island, and I venture to think the Danish camp has long since gone beneath the waves.

In the year 895 occurred an incident with which I

would not burden my story, as the venue was principally in Hertfordshire, but that Sir James Ramsay in his interesting book, *The Foundations of England*, suggests the association of a great Essex earthwork with the event. In the autumn of 895 the restless Danes who sat in Mersea, towed their boats up the Thames, and then up the Lea, "and wrought a work on that river, twenty miles above London." Sir James Ramsay thinks the work referred to is possibly Walbury in Essex near Bishop's Stortford; but this camp, reared on a high bank above the river Stort, has formidable double ramparts which would have taken far longer to raise than it is likely the Danes had at their disposal, watched as they were by the Saxon enemy; moreover its great size (over thirty acres within the walls) was beyond the requirements of the pagan army.

Again we must remember that this work is on the banks of the Stort, not on the Lea, and that it is nearer thirty than twenty miles from London. Danes may at some time have occupied this work, but its dimensions, its position high above the waters of the river, and its general character render it very unlikely that this was the work which the *Chronicle* tells us was the work of the Danes. On the contrary it seems probable that Walbury, being placed on the extreme western border of the land of the Trinobantes, was an ancient British fortress intended to accommodate families, flocks, and herds, as well as men to fight against their western foes.

As we all know, Alfred succeeded in driving the Danish forces out of their stronghold by *commencing the construction* of two forts, one on either side of the river lower down, and so cutting off the enemy from the Thames and the sea.¹

Perhaps no part of the *Chronicle* so gratifies and interests us as the annals of those early years of the tenth century which witnessed the successes of the Saxon Edward, the son of Alfred, and his courageous sister Ethelfled, "Lady of the Mercians," who went forth winning and constructing burhs throughout the Danish districts of our land.

¹ Florence of Worcester says that Alfred ordered a dam to be thrown across the river, but does not mention the two forts.

I cannot dwell on their conquests elsewhere, but note that in the year 913, King Edward pushed through the heart of the Danelegh, and encamped at Maldon while building a burh at Witham. No doubt Edward saw that his operations at that important point might be interrupted by the Danes of the east, hence his taking up his quarters where he could overawe the turbulent spirits among them. We must return to Maldon presently, but may first dwell for a little on Edward's burh at Witham. The strategic value of the site was doubtless due to its nearness to the ford by which the river Panta or Pant was crossed by the old Roman road; this, one of the few roads in any sort of fair condition, was doubtless useful for the transit of armed bands. And by holding Witham as well as Maldon, doubtless with intermediate posts of observation, Edward drove the Danes further north.

Alas! when we seek to discover what Edward's work was, we find but poor traces, and those ever growing less and less. Most mercilessly has this historic fortress been treated. Some sixty years ago the Eastern Counties Railway Company cut through the heart of it and erected a station on the northern side of the inner defence: since then road-makers and others have aided the work of destruction, and recently the Great Eastern Railway Company, widening the line and station, have still further lessened the fragments which remained of the burh that Edward "worhte and getimbrede aet Witham." In 1887 Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell published an account of the work in *The Essex Naturalist*, showing on a plan the traces he discovered by careful examination of the ground. The plan here reproduced is based on this, the solid black lines indicating the course of the ramparts. (See folding plate, fig. 5.)

The original fort seems to have consisted of a large enclosure about 400 by 350 yards, with an inner ward 200 by 175 yards. If this could be regarded as the typical form for a royal military burh of the period, much importance would be added to the traces which remain.

On the south-west side the hill slopes sharply to the river Pant, and there some portions of the inner and outer scarping of the rampart are still conspicuous on the left hand side, when travelling from London. The fosse

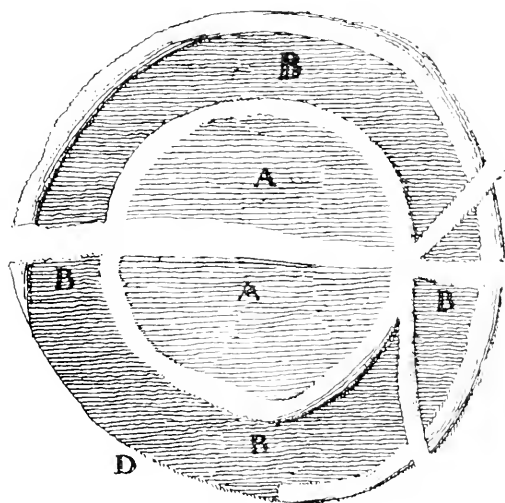
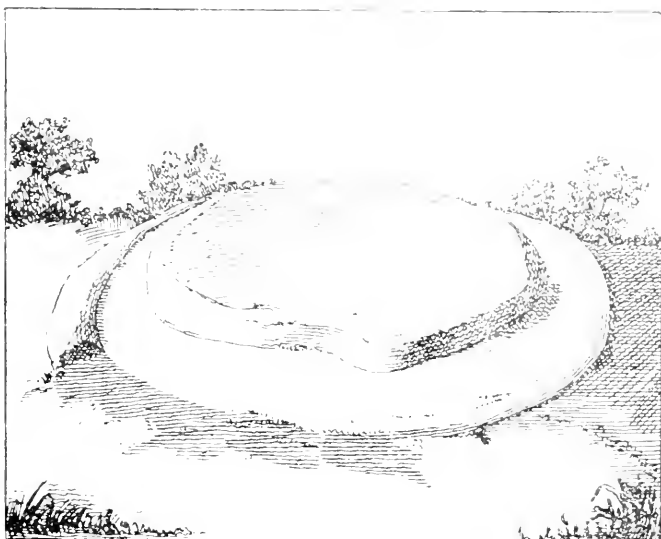


FIG. C.—WITHAM BURH,
from Strutt's *Horde Angel-Cynna*, 1775.

outside the outer rampart seems to have been dry and of slight depth. Mr. Spurrell thought it probably about 30 feet wide and 3 feet deep, except on the west, the weakest side, where it was much deeper. A section exposed in the course of widening the space for the station showed that the inner rampart also possessed a fosse, but of smaller dimensions, the fosse being at that point about 10 feet in width.

The fortress could never have been of great strength except for the timber defences which once crowned the banks, these of course may have been sufficiently strong to atone for the weakness of the position.

In Strutt's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, published in 1774, is a plan and view of the burh, the accuracy of which I fear must be regarded as doubtful, but it seems desirable to reproduce them (fig. 6) as showing how the work struck the old antiquary.

Maldon was again visited by King Edward in 920. In this year, says the *Chronicle*, the king went to Maldon and "built and established the burh ere he went thence." This entry makes it doubtful whether the encampment of 913 was more than a temporary erection. Perhaps it had so suffered in the interval that in 920 Edward had to reconstruct it, or possibly he erected a new and stronger burh. Be that as it may, we glean from the *Saxon Chronicle* that a year later than 920, the Danes besieged Maldon with determination, but were forced to retreat.¹ This fact shows the formidable nature of the defences. Little as is left, it is enough to indicate the strength of the fortress, and we doubt not that it was well guarded, for probably hardly any other in England was so exposed to the attacks of Danish marauders; in the tenth century it must have been a veritable "Castle Dangerous."

Some of our old antiquaries concluded there was a castle of masonry here, but I think that, could we see this stronghold as it was in the tenth century, we should find the outer line of defence a deep fosse or moat and next, a high rampart of earth with a strong stockade, or palisade of timber on its summit.

¹ "They went to Maldon, and beset the burh, and fought against it, until there came greater aid to the towns-

people from without; and the army then abandoned the burh and departed." *Saxon Chron.*, An. 921

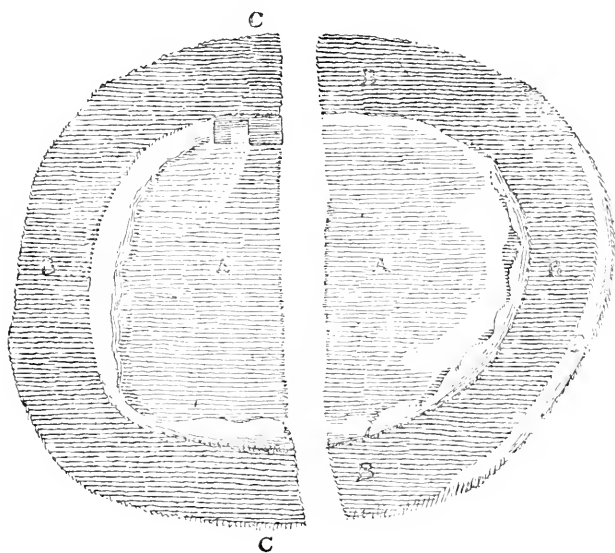
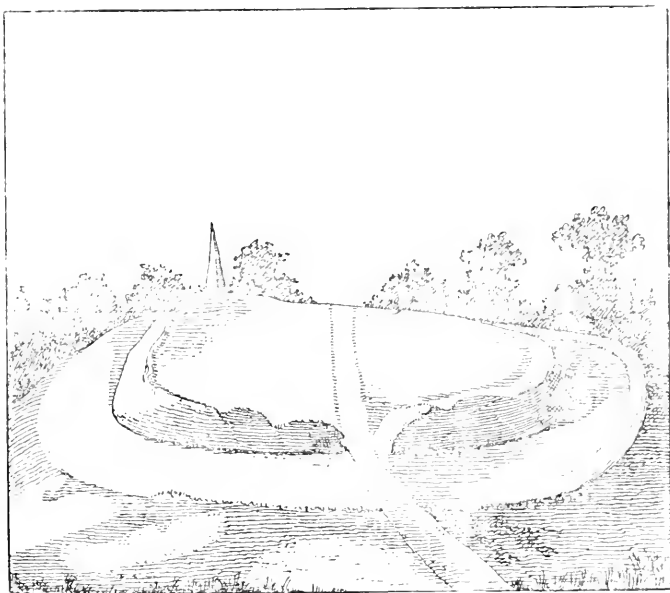


FIG. 7.—MAIDON BURH,
from Strutt's *Horda Angel-Cynnan*, 1775.

It is hard to realise the presence of the rampart, for every vestige of it has been thrown into the fosse to level the latter for agricultural or building purposes. So effectual has been the process that little remains of the fosse beyond the section at the north-west angle, and a few shallow lengths here and there at other points.

Strutt's view and plan published in 1775 (see fig. 7), though probably not to be exactly relied upon, is interesting in suggesting the strength of the place both by its natural position and the height and character of the earth-works, though the plan is simple, just a strong encircling ramparted scarp with a fosse or moat outside it.

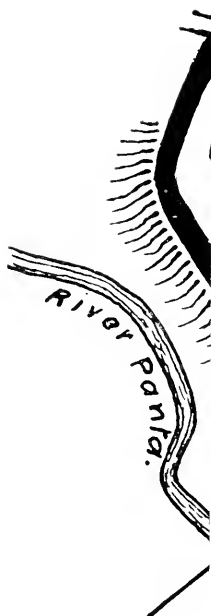
Though Maldon had yielded to Edward and become a link with Witham in the king's scheme, the greater stronghold of Colchester was held by the pirate Northmen till 921, when, as the *Chronicle* tells us, "A great body of people assembled in autumn, as well from Kent as from Surrey and from Essex, and everywhere from the nearest burghs, and went to Colchester, and beset the burgh, and fought against it until they reduced it, and slew all the people, and took that was there within, except the men who fled away over the wall." It was probably to avenge the loss of Colchester that the Danes from East Anglia, both of the land-army, and of the Vikings whom they allured to their aid, made that desperate but happily futile attempt to recover Maldon, already mentioned.

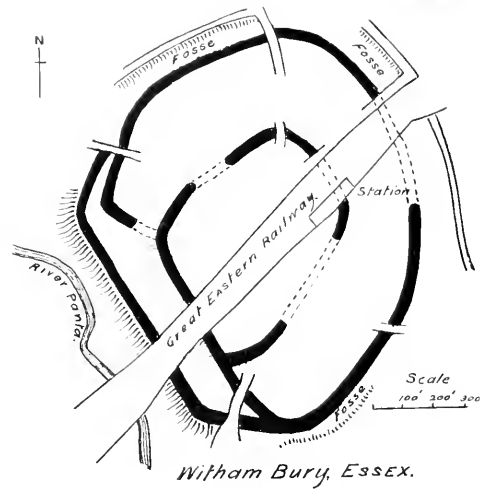
In the winter of 921 Edward with an army of West Saxons went to Colchester, repaired the burh where it had been ruined and, according to Florence of Worcester, stationed therein a garrison of hired soldiers, probably some of his own trusty West Saxons, who were willing to accept more continuous military service instead of returning home to till the soil.

For considerably over fifty years after these events Essex enjoyed peace, and here it would be pleasant to end the record of Essex references, but in the dark days which followed, two events occurred on Essex soil, leaving their mark on England's history.

In the year 993 or 994, under the weak rule of Aethelred the Unready, England was exposed to furious attacks of the old enemies, who came, under the command of Olaf,

N





king of Norway, and Svein, king of Denmark, and "wrought the greatest evil that ever any army could do, in burning and harrying, and in manslayings, as well by the sea-coast as in Essex, and in Kent, and in Sussex and in Hampshire." Then it was that Maldon fell again into Danish hands: but not till one of the most gallant of recorded contests was fought by the Saxon defenders. Of that grim battle and of the death of the brave Brihtmoth the "Song of Maldon" tells with pathetic detail.

My final reference is to the important battle which settled the line of Danish kings on the throne of England. In 1016 the victorious Edmund Ironside pursued the Danish army and overtook it in Essex "at the hill which is called Assandun." There, thanks to the vile treachery of the alderman Eadric who "betrayed his royal lord and all the people of Angle race," Cnut had the victory and won him all the English nation. Ashdon, at the extreme north-west of Essex, had been claimed as the site of the great battle, but there is every probability that Ashingdon, near Rochford, is the place referred to in the *Chronicle*, though it may be that the actual fight took place at, or close to, the adjoining settlement we now know as Canewdon. The formidable moating surrounding much of this place was certainly not excavated on the occasion, nor can we find any certain traces of military work; this is not surprising, for terrible as was the result of the battle in the death of the flower of the English nobility and the slaughter of the warrior-ranks, the fight was of a hasty character, affording little time or occasion for the construction of defensive earthworks.

I cannot conclude this paper without mentioning that near the heads of creeks on the Essex coast are found fine examples of those artificial, water-girt islands we call Homestead moats. Such works abound throughout Essex and in some other districts of England, and were made at very varying periods down to the sixteenth and possibly to the seventeenth century, but on this coast they are not only in close proximity to the water, but also so large and powerfully constructed that I can only suppose them made to defend Saxons or Danes, and as

they sometimes included church, hall and village within their area it seems certain they were made to protect Saxon settlements rather than to guard bands of Danish rovers. As a rule these Homestead moats are of the character of the example at East Mersea, but some are stronger and retain evidence of the existence of ramparts in addition to deep water defences ; but the full story of our Homestead moats yet remains to be unravelled.

NOTE.—This paper, which was the last work undertaken by Mr. Chalkley Gould before his death, has not had the benefit of the author's revision.—ED.

CHURCH CHESTS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES IN ENGLAND.

By PHILIP MAINWARING JOHNSTON, F.R.I.B.A.

At first sight it seems a sufficiently bold claim to make that there are considerably over a hundred thirteenth century chests remaining in the cathedrals, churches, and museums of England, but it is possible to go further and to place some half-dozen of the group within the last quarter of the twelfth century. It is only a matter of comparative evidence.

Having always felt a special interest in one or two early chests such as those in Stoke d'Abernou and Clymping churches, it happened that I was asked to write a paper upon the former church for the Surrey Archaeological Society's *Collections*,¹ and so I had a natural object in collecting evidence that might throw light upon the antiquity and purpose of this remarkable piece of church furniture. A lengthy appendix proved insufficient for more than a cursory examination of this group of early chests, and it seemed, therefore, desirable that the whole subject should receive separate and fuller treatment, especially as, since the publication of this appendix, several very important examples have come to light.

By the courtesy of the Council of the Surrey Archaeological Society, of which I desire to make the fullest acknowledgment, I am permitted to reproduce here the illustrations made for that appendix, and to these I have added a large number of new ones. Necessarily also, some of the letterpress has been reprinted in the descriptions of a few of the chests in the following pages, with such modifications as I have found necessary.

In the early days of the Gothic Revival, the late Mr. John Henry Parker and other writers drew attention

to two or three of these early church chests and commented upon the similarity in design and construction observable in the Clymping and Stoke d'Abernon examples. The late Mr. William Twopenny, F.S.A., most painstaking and accurate of architectural draughtsmen, had drawn the former in 1833 for Mr. Henry Shaw's *Examples of Old Furniture*. The late William Burges in his *Architectural Drawings* had drawn attention to similar chests in Westminster Abbey and Salisbury Cathedral; Mr. J. Romilly Allen, in *Cutts' Dictionary of the Church of England*; Mr. B. J. Talbert in *Examples of Ancient and Modern Furniture*; the late M. H. Bloxam, in *Gothic Architecture*,¹ and Pugin, in his *Glossary*,² have all dealt generally with church chests, and incidentally with the earlier examples. An important paper on the subject was published by Colonel Hart in the Birmingham and Midland Institute's *Transactions*,³ from which I have ventured to borrow. Scattered notices of early chests occur in the publications of archaeological societies and other works, which I have endeavoured to trace and make use of in this paper.⁴

It need hardly be remarked that of all pieces of furniture the chest is undoubtedly the most ancient. Some sort of a box, if only an excavated tree trunk, would be evolved by the primitive savage for the safe keeping and transport of his few valuable possessions. Chests were in common use in Egypt, Greece and Rome; examples from the former, four thousand years old, made of sycamore, tamarisk or acacia wood, are preserved in the Louvre. In shape they are square or oblong, having flat, curved, or gable-shaped lids, painted on the surface, and are generally raised above the ground by short legs or prolongations of the rails forming the framework. These were, no doubt, used for the storage and safe

¹ ii, 157.

² 71.

³ xx, 60.

⁴ *Inter alia*, *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*; Vols. iii and xxviii, of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*; the *Reports of the Associated Architectural Societies*; an article in Andrews' *Ecclesiastical Curiosities*; and the volumes of *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*.

For several of these references I am indebted to my friend Mr. Francis Bond, M.A., who is himself engaged upon a work embracing this subject. While this paper was in writing, Messrs. Methuen have issued their very interesting *English Church Furniture*, by Dr. Cox and Mr. Harvey, and from the section on Church Chests I have made one or two quotations.

custody of articles of clothing, jewels and other valuables; and from such a venerable ancestry, and to serve a like purpose, our mediæval church chest came into being.

That the church chest was a recognised and usual feature in pre-Conquest times seems certain from its enumeration by archbishop Ælfrie (995-1005) as among sacred things; and no doubt from the earliest period a strong box, variously termed a great ark, chest, coffer, hutch or locker, was commonly used for the deposit of the sacred vessels, jewels, money, books and vestments belonging to the church.

Perhaps the earliest form which this box would take would be that of a *monoxylon*, a split tree trunk, excavated or hollowed out and bound round with numerous straps of iron; but equally it may be assumed that these "trunks," the very name of which has become synonymous with a receptacle for containing wearing apparel and personal possessions, would remain in use long after the framed and ironbound chests of a more scientific school of carpentry had been evolved. I do not propose in this paper to do more than enumerate such instances of these excavated trunks as are known to me, adding, in one or two cases, a few particulars.

A LIST OF EXCAVATED TRUNKS.

CHESHIRE. NETHER PEOVER.

An exceptionally high and deep example. Length about 6 feet, width 2 feet 3 inches, height 2 feet 3 inches, with a long cavity in the centre, having a coped lid. There are many iron straps, a ring handle and three locks. The date is probably not earlier than that of the very interesting timber church itself, namely, c. 1520.

DORSET. WIMBORNE MINSTER.

The trunk is 6 feet 6 inches long, but the hollowed out cavity is only 22 inches in length by 9 inches in width and 6 inches in depth. The lid, which is very massive and fairly sound, retains parts of six locks at one time in use. There is nothing in this rude chest

to prevent our believing the popular tradition that it dates back to the time of St. Cuthberga's foundation of the original church c. A.D. 705, in which case the chest has been in use for over twelve centuries.

ESSEX.

LANGHAM.

There is a solid trunk here, length 4 feet 8 inches, width 1 foot 6 inches and height 1 foot 6 inches, with an exceptionally small cavity, only 12 inches by 9 inches.

MOUNTNESSING.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

MUNSLEY.

ORLETON.

Two large and massive hollowed trunks, perhaps of the thirteenth century.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

HATFIELD.

Nail-studded and banded, with money slit, of early thirteenth century date.

KENT.

HOO.

MINSTER IN THANET.

This curious example is probably of early twelfth century date. It is of elm, with a solid coved lid of oak, half a tree in effect.

LANCASHIRE.

GRAPPENHALL.

This example, which measures 5 feet 8 inches long, is now in the Warrington museum.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

BRADFORD ABBAS.

CHURCHILL.

ST. MARGARET'S, LEICESTER.

The chest in the latter church, hewn out of a solid log, has a lid covered with ironwork, in which are two apertures for the reception of money. This chest has three locks and hinges.

ST. MARTIN'S, LEICESTER.

Here is a large chest of the same type.

NORFOLK.

HORNING.

The ironwork on this shows the date to be of the first half of the thirteenth century

NORTHANTS.

CASTOR.

WEST HADDON.

8 feet long : now in Northampton museum.

MARSTON TRUSSELL.

A twelfth century example.

OXFORDSHIRE. BAMPTON.

There is a curious hollowed trunk in the vestry here.

EYNSHAM.

The chest here is an excavated tree trunk, with a lid 2 inches thick.

RUTLAND. WHITWELL.

A hollowed trunk strongly bound with iron.

SHROPSHIRE. HALESOWEN.

SOMERSETSHIRE. DUNSTER.

LONG SUTTON.

WELLS.

There is a large and rude ironbound excavated chest in the crypt of the cathedral chapter-house.

STAFFORDSHIRE. TATTENHALL.

SUFFOLK. LITTLE WALDINGFIELD.

SURREY. BETCHWORTH.

BURSTOW.

NEWDIGATE.

These churches have tree-trunk chests with some plain iron straps. The first is very early, while the others are perhaps co-eval with the wooden towers of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date.

SUSSEX. WEST GRINSTEAD.

Pre-Conquest. (?) Hollowed in centre only, leaving a solid mass at either end.

WARWICKSHIRE. BICKENHILL.

A tree-trunk 8 feet long, banded with iron, amongst which are some crescent or C-shaped ornaments which suggest a twelfth century date from their similarity to those found on many Norman doors. The lid opens in two sections, each with three locks.

ASTON HALL.

Very rudely made and cross-banded with iron. The lid is slightly rounded and about 3 inches shorter than the body, and has a raised edge cut out of the solid which fits the interior of the chest. One wall of the chest is 7 inches thick. The locks are on the under side of the lid.

CURDWORTH.

Probably the largest dug-out chest known. It is 10 feet long, and has two compartments, each with a

lid, the one having staples for two padlocks and the other for three.

LAPWORTH.

MAXSTOKE.

OFFCHURCH.

WORCESTERSHIRE.¹ CHURCHILL.

A huge block of oak, hollowed, with a thick cover.

CLEEVE PRIOR.

An elm chest.

ECKINGTON.

Of elm, in bad condition ; said to be of thirteenth century date.

SPETCHLEY.

YORKSHIRE.

CRAYKE.

There are two dug-out chests in this church.

TICKHILL. (Plate I.)²

Here is a very curious dug-out chest, elaborately bound with iron. There are thirteen straps over the top, corresponding to eleven vertical ones on the front, carried underneath the solid baulk and up the back ; the ends are also clamped horizontally with straps, and in each end is a lifting ring, the only instance of such a feature in solid chests, so far as I am aware. There have been three ordinary locks in the front, the centre of which alone remains, and two padlocks which *may* be co-eval. The lid is hinged by means of knuckle-jointed straps, and the hasps of locks and padlocks are also attached by knuckle joints to the straps on the lid.

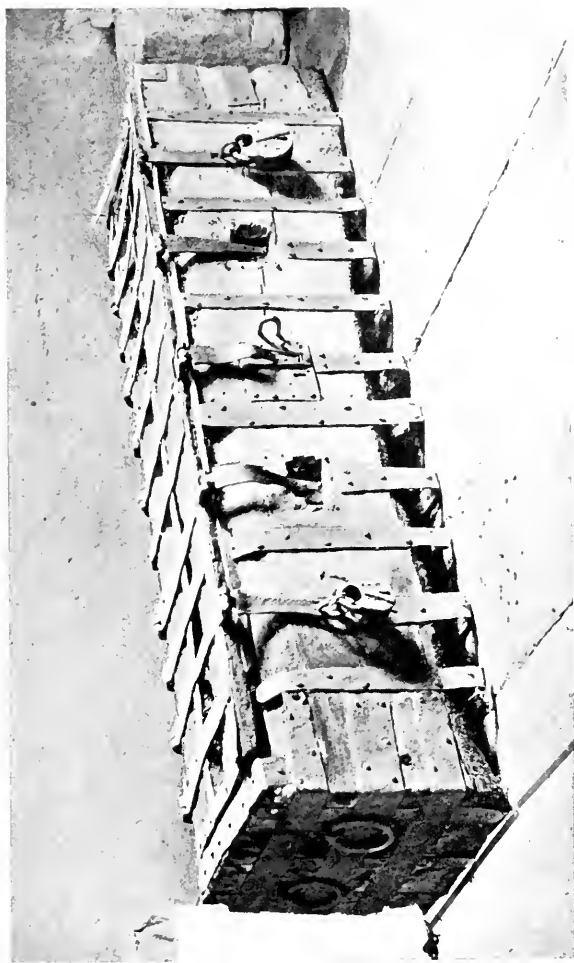
The other chests of early date may be classed as two groups : the "pin-hinge" and the "strap-hinge" types, both being framed together with planks, posts and rails, and presenting, in most cases, quite elaborate examples of mediaeval carpentry.³ For practical purposes these

¹ There are said to be many more dug-out chests in this county.

² For the photograph here reproduced, and for some of these particulars, I am indebted to my friend Mr. Henry Horn-castle.

³ Most of the pin-hinged chests have had, and still retain, strap-hinges as well

as the pin-hinge for additional security against the lid being prised off from the back. For the same reason, and to prevent their being bodily carried off, we find that in many cases they were attached by means of iron chains and staples to a wall, as at Westminster, Chichester and Clymping.



TICKHILL, YORKSHIRE.
Dug-out iron-bound chest, probably early thirteenth century.

two groups are best considered as one and taken alphabetically under counties; but in the following classification the chests which are constructed with the pin-hinge are distinguished by an asterisk.¹

The peculiar feature known as the pin-hinge demands particular notice. It is found, so far as I am aware, only in chests constructed between the end of the twelfth and the latter part of the thirteenth century. In no case has it been observed to occur in the typical tracery-fronted chests of the fourteenth century, nor in those of later date, but it is found in many fine chests in churches and museums on the Continent, as at Ypres, Belgium, ascribed to the thirteenth century.

The construction of the pin-hinge will be best understood by reference to some of the illustrations in the following pages,² but it may be explained here that the top horizontal rail at either end of the chest, which appears, when the lid is closed, to form part of the framework of the end, in reality is attached to the lid, so that when the lid is opened it lifts with it. This rail is secured by a stout oak pin, which passes through a tenon in its rear end, to a slot cut in the standard at the back of the chest, the top of which standard is rounded, so that the rail revolves over it; and the pin by which both are united and which forms the centre of revolution is protected from being drawn out by an iron plate or shield, nailed or strapped over the end of the standard. This shield, in some examples, takes a pear- or kite-shape, such as is found in actual shields of the twelfth century.

Another very remarkable feature, chiefly associated with the pin-hinge group of chests, is the small money-hutch or tray found within, sometimes at the right sometimes at the left hand end. Occasionally these hutches have a slit for money in the lid, corresponding to a similar slit in the outer lid. The small lid, like the

¹ I have not attempted to describe in this paper such developments of the ordinary church chest as the *Cope-chest* and the *Armoire*. There are examples of the former at Salisbury, Westminster and York, and of the latter, a cupboard for the safekeeping of church plate and

vestments, at Chester, Westminster, Ripon, etc., besides the well-known French *armoires*, at Bayeux and Noyon. These are nearly all of thirteenth-century date.

² Best shown in Figs. 11, 18 and 21.

larger one, works on pin-hinges. In several cases, as will be seen in the accompanying illustrations,¹ these money hutches have cleverly contrived false bottoms, which, when pulled out, disclose a secret well for the storage of church plate or other valuables.

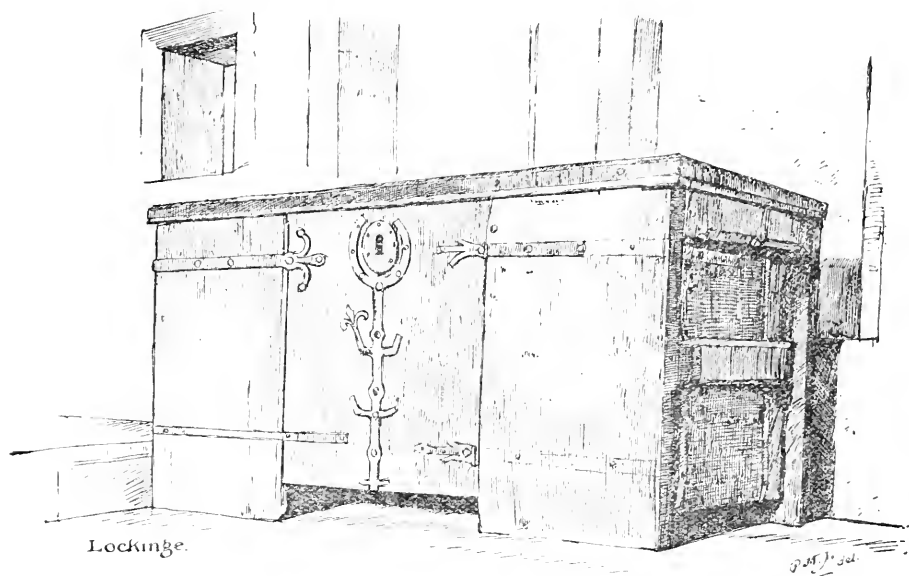


FIG. 1.

LIST OF TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CHESTS
BELONGING EITHER TO THE "PIN-HINGE" OR TO
THE "STRAP-HINGE" GROUP.

N.B.—All those marked * in the following list have or had the pin-hinge, and in the character of their ornamentation have points in common with the Stoke d'Abernon chest. Those without an asterisk have or had strap-hinges.

BERKSHIRE. *LOCKINGE. (Fig. 1.)

Through the kindness of my friend Mr. G. C. Druce, I am enabled to illustrate a very interesting thirteenth-century chest here, belonging to the pin-hinge group.

¹ This peculiarity is well shown in the illustrations of Long Stanton St. Michael (Fig. 3), Stoke d'Abernon (Fig. 11), Bosham (Fig. 14), and Rogate (Fig. 22).

It stands in a chapel of early thirteenth-century date, and is evidently co-eval. The front consists of the usual central body, framed into broad standards right and left, and braced with ornamental iron straps of the hinge type, having *fleur-de-lys* scrolled terminations resembling those at Rustington, Sussex (Fig. 23). There have originally been two of these on each standard, but only one of the four remains in a perfect state: of the rest there are fragments. A vertical strap also remains upon the central body, ornamented with two pairs of scrolled branches, and terminating in a

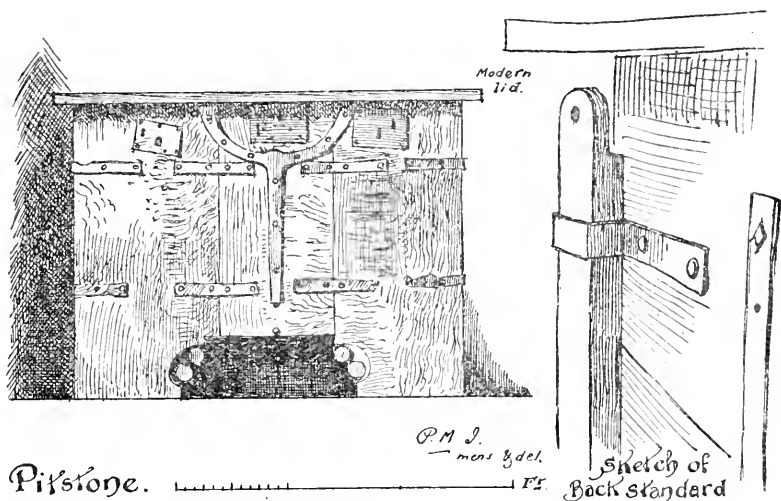


FIG. 2.

crescent, or horseshoe (compare Pitstone, Bucks, Fig. 2), within which is an original oval-shaped key-plate. Iron rivets with circular convex heads are used both in the framework and the iron straps. The ends are formed by recessed planks, grooved into the front and back standards and held in their place by a central cross rail, chamfered. The standards have square-ended feet which may originally have been longer, and perhaps ornamented, as in other examples. BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. *PITSTONE. (Fig. 2.)

In the vestry of this church is a well-preserved early thirteenth-century chest of beautifully figured black

oak, strengthened with iron straps and having a curious Y-shaped strap in the centre.¹ The present lid is comparatively modern; the original one worked on a pin-hinge, as is evidenced by the back standards, which have rounded ends retaining the perforation for the pin. Without the lid the chest stands 2 feet 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches from the floor, and is 3 feet 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 2 feet $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide. The broad standards of the front are actually wider than the central body (1 foot 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches as against 1 foot), and they terminate in a sort of scooped-out quadrant, in which are two flat discs, an ornament exactly repeated in one of the Westminster chests (Fig. 4). There are three locks, the side ones being original.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. *LONG STANTON ST. MICHAEL. (Fig. 3.)

The chest here dates from about 1200. Length, 6 feet 9 inches; width, 2 feet 1 inch; height, 2 feet 3 inches. It has a central body and a broad standard at either end. The ends have an applied framework, chamfered, as at Stoke d'Abernion (Fig. 11), and there are two large roundels on the central body of the front, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, having a geometrical design of seven stars within a zigzag border. Its lid originally worked with a pin-hinge, as does also the lid of the small hutch for money or valuables, on the left within the chest. This hutch has a false bottom, which, on the removal of a pin on the outside, tilts up, and by this ingenious contrivance (shown by the dotted lines in Fig. 3) the money in the hutch would be dropped into the secret well beneath. The same arrangement occurs in the

¹ I met with this hitherto unrecorded and very interesting example quite accidentally; probably there are many like it hidden away, their high antiquity and interest undreamed of by their custodians. It would be a worthy object for our County Archaeological Societies to compile dated lists of all the church chests within their boundaries. Within my knowledge several valuable early examples have quite lately escaped destruction by the narrowest chance, owing to the foolish ignorance of those who should be their jealous guardians. Others in time past have been barbarously

mutilated, broken up and burnt, or handed over to enterprising collectors, or as "old materials" to the builder carrying out a restoration. I need only mention as instances the lost "Flanders" chests of Guestling (figured in Parker's *Glossary*), a chest at Sidlesham, Sussex (Horsfield's *Hist. of Sussex*), and another at Wittersham, Kent; also the thirteenth-century chest, belonging to the pin hinge group, which disappeared from Rustington, Sussex, in the 'fifties, and another of the same period which remained in Arundel church till some twenty years later.

Bosham, Stoke d'Abernion and other chests. The lid of this little hutch has a prettily scalloped edge, very similar to that of the hutch in the chests of this type in Chichester cathedral and Bosham. It is probable that the chest has been reduced in height some 6 inches by the feet of the end standards having been cut down. The present lid is comparatively modern, and is hinged in the ordinary fashion from the back. There are three locks, one of which is ancient and identical in design

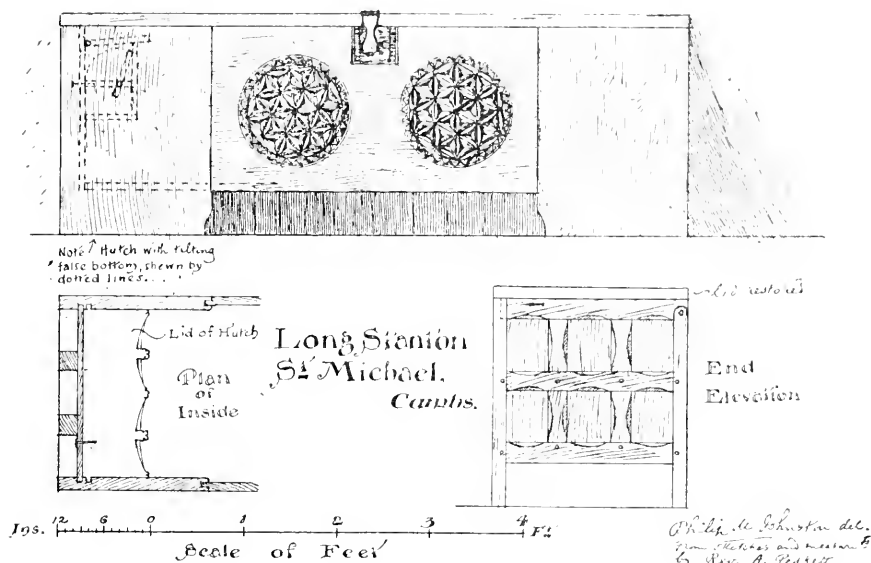


FIG. 3.

with the centre lock of the Stoke d'Abernion chest, having applied straps, an elegantly-shaped hasp and a keyhole cut to fit the wards of the key, as in the chests at Felpham, Westminster and others. I am informed by Mr. T. M. Grose-Lloyd that a chest closely resembling this, but without the roundels, exists at Aunsey, Herts.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. *MILTON. See note, page 306.

DERBYSHIRE. WILNE.

This chest is illustrated in Roe's *Ancient Cupboards and* *Cupboards*. It dates from the latter part of the thirteenth century, but has evidently been altered and

almost re-made in the seventeenth century, with somewhat confusing results. Among the original features remaining is a border of six-pointed stars or flowers of the Clymping type, above a row of interlacing arches. There is a somewhat similar chest at South Acre, Norfolk,¹ but in this case some of the ornamentation has a later appearance.

ESSEX. NEWPORT.

This is one of the finest and most elaborately decorated ancient chests remaining in England, dating probably from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Fortunately, it has been well described and illustrated.² The chest is ironbound and extremely massive, about 4 feet 3 inches long by 2 feet wide and high. One original lock-plate remains in the centre of the front, with an ingenious device for masking the keyhole, and there would appear to have been four others, perhaps not co-eval. There are lifting handles on the front and sides, and the front is ornamented by a row of small shields, twelve in number, once, perhaps, heraldically painted, and twelve sunk circles, filled probably with a metal enrichment similar to the band of tracery lozenges that occupies the space in the middle between the other ornaments. These lozenges are formed in cast lead or pewter let into little compartments sunk to receive them.³ On the inside of the lid are five painted panels in the form of trefoiled arches, the Crucifixion, with SS. Mary, John, Peter and Paul occupying the space within. Red and green are the principal colours employed, and there is no doubt as to the painting being co-eval. What makes it more remarkable is that the medium employed is oil colour; perhaps this is the earliest example we can now point to of its use in decoration. The heads of the little figures are remarkably life-like.

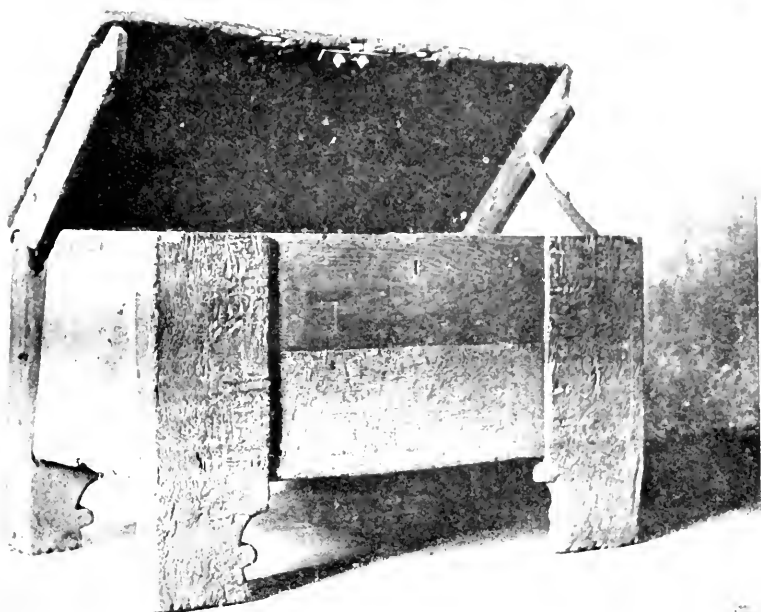
Another noteworthy feature of this chest is the

¹ See *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, iii, 68.

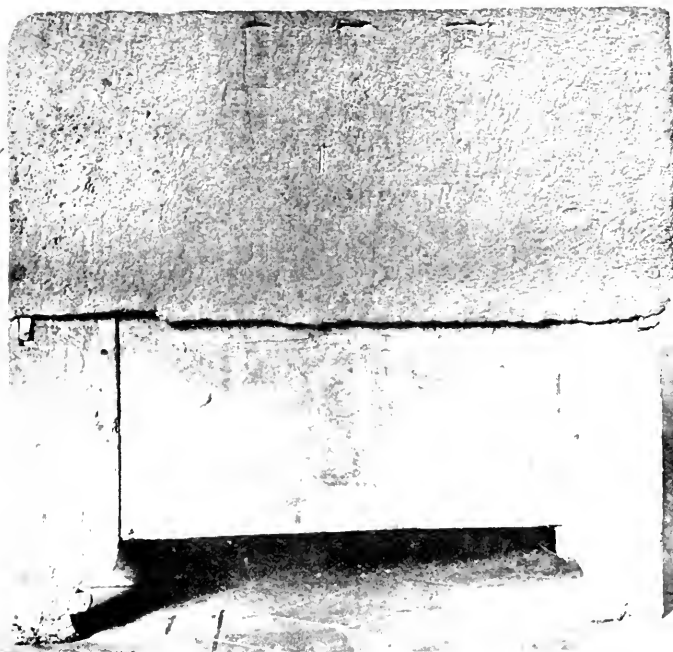
² (1) By Fairholt, *Journal of the Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, iii, 204-8, and (2) by Mr. Roe in his *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*, 269. The latter gives an excellent coloured plate, showing

the remarkable paintings upon the inside of the lid and other unusual details.

³ These were replaced by copies, cast from the originals, some years ago. The originals are in South Kensington Museum.



HECKFIELD, HANTS.
Early pin-hinged chest.



View showing back and money slit.

strong-box with which the interior is fitted, which possesses a secret sliding panel in its bottom, the existence of which is masked by two false bars in the framework. The same idea on a small scale is found in the secret well beneath the inner hutch in the Long Stanton, Stoke d'Abernon, Bosham and Rogate chests.

ESSEX. WEST BERGHOLT.

There is an early chest here having eight iron bands.

ESSEX. WEST HANNINGFIELD.

The chest here is covered with iron bands. Length, 8 feet 2 inches ; width, 2 feet 2 inches ; height, 1 foot 6 inches.

ESSEX. LAYER MARNEY.

This example has twenty iron bands. Length, 7 feet 3 inches ; width, 2 feet 2 inches ; height, 1 foot 11 inches.

ESSEX. RAMSDEN WELLHOUSE.

Another banded chest with twelve iron straps. Length, 7 feet 7 inches ; width, 1 foot 7 inches ; height, 2 feet 2 inches.

ESSEX. TILBURY-JUNTA-CLARE.

"A large iron-banded chest."¹

ESSEX. WENNINGTON. (Plate VI.)

Of the early thirteenth century, this is a small plain oak chest, somewhat like that at Heckfield. Length about 3 feet 2 inches ; width, 2 feet 1 inch ; height, 2 feet. The feet of the front standards are shaped somewhat in the manner of those at Heckfield and other examples. There is a co-eval large lock-plate in the centre, and on the standards staples connected with hasps on the lid for padlocks. These are possibly original also, as they resemble others of this date at Salisbury and elsewhere. The lid is original, working on pin-hinges, and it retains, in addition, two original iron strap-hinges, as in the case of Stoke d'Abernon and some of the Westminster group. These hinges are formed with knuckle-joints to serve as hasps for the padlocks and are carried

¹ I have thought it well to insert the foregoing five examples tentatively, on the authority of Mr. T. M. Grose-Lloyd,

but I cannot personally vouch for their dating within the period to which I have limited myself in this paper.

down the back of the chest for additional security, as in other examples. The top rail of the sides is pinned in the usual way to the lid, so as to lift with it, and its lower edge is prettily stop-chamfered, as in the Chichester, Westminster and Salisbury chests. Inside, on the left, is a very perfect little money-hutch, retaining its pin-hinged lid. The unusual size of the lock-plate, which is 7 inches wide by 8 inches deep, should be noted.¹

ESSEX. WHITTLESFORD.

Mr. Grose-Lloyd informs me that there is a chest of early character here. Length, 7 feet 9 inches; width, 2 feet 2 inches; height, 1 foot 10 inches, banded with iron straps closely interlaced, and having no less than fourteen hinges and five locks. It would appear to belong to the iron-banded group above described.

HAMPSHIRE. *HECKFIELD. (Plate II.)

This rudely fashioned chest has a very early appearance, and may ante-date the thirteenth century. It is of oak; length, 3 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, 1 foot 9 inches, the well being 11 inches deep. There is a money-slit in the lid, which latter works on a pin-hinge and bears marks of hasp-straps with three cross-shaped ends. There were three locks to correspond. On the left, inside, is a small hutch or tray, with a pin-hinged lid, for the storage of plate or money, but the slit in the main lid does not communicate with this. The feet of both back and front standards are shaped on the inside edge, somewhat in the manner of the Stoke d'Abernon chest, but otherwise this example is perfectly plain; and it may well have been the work of a local carpenter, as it lacks the beauty and finish that characterise most of the chests of the pin-hinge group.²

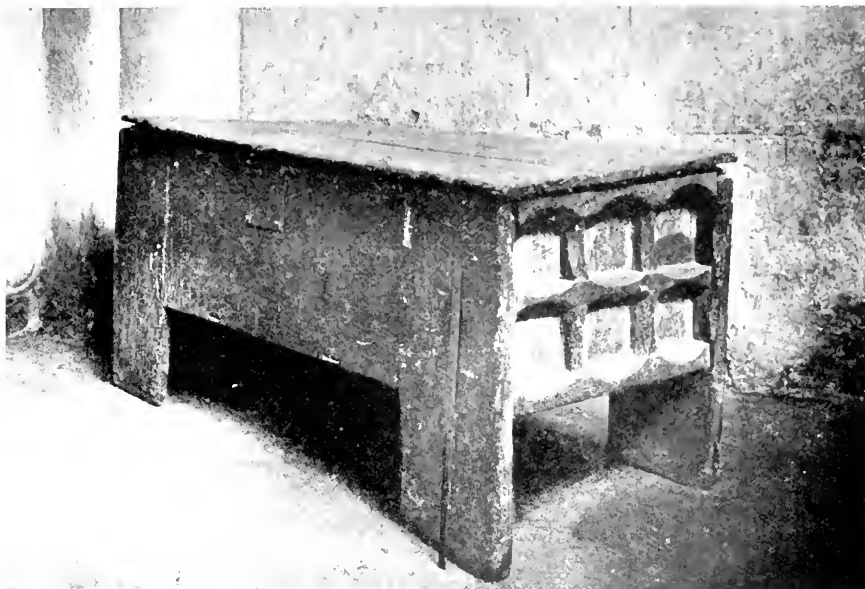
HAMPSHIRE. LONG SUTTON.

This is a large chest, 6 feet 5 inches, by 2 feet

¹ For some of these particulars, my thanks are due to the vicar of Wennington, the Rev. Nicholas Brady, and to my friend Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., who has supplied the excellent photograph of this chest. (Plate VI.)

² By the courtesy of the rector of

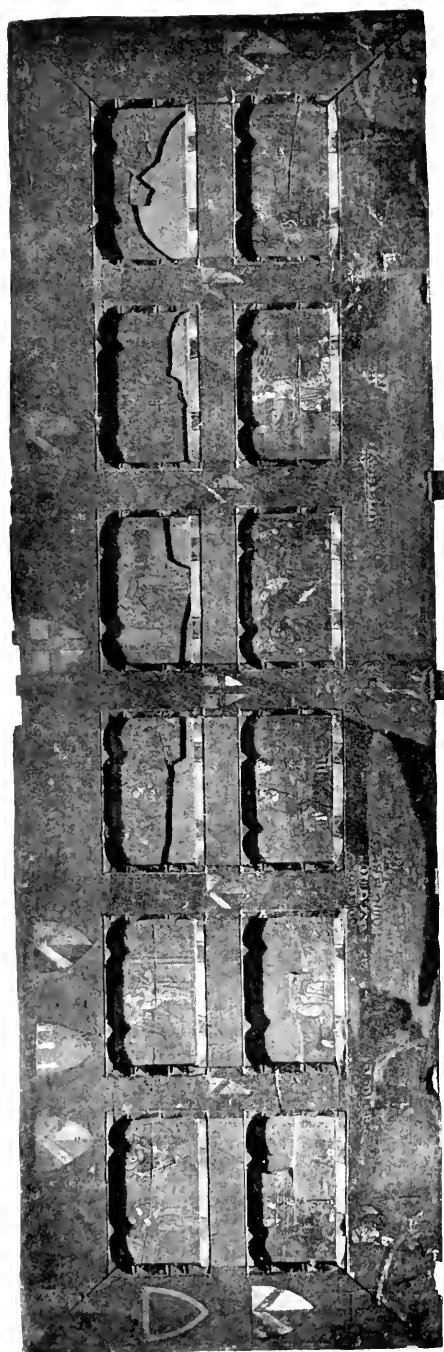
Heckfield, the Rev. G. P. Thomas, I am able to include two excellent photographic reproductions of this interesting chest, from the blocks in his possession. I owe my knowledge of this chest to the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, HANTS.
No. 1.—Early thirteenth century pin-hinged chest.



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, HANTS.
No. 2.—Iron bound strap-hinged chest, probably thirteenth century.



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, HANTS.
Painted lid of a relic chest, late thirteenth century.

6 inches, and no less than 2 feet 10 inches high. The lid and hinges are modern. It has moulded feet to the standards flanking the central panel. It was probably made c. 1250 to hold the vestments and books of the chantry chapel in which it stands.

HAMPSHIRE. WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. (Plates III and IV.)

There are two very perfect early chests here and the lid of a third, all of great interest.

The oldest* (Plate III, No. 1) is a plain pin-hinge chest, length 5 feet 5 inches; width, 2 feet 6 inches; height, 2 feet 6½ inches, including the lid. It has plain standards, 1 foot wide, chamfered rails to the ends, and one original lock-plate in the centre fixed with straps and bolts, and resembling that at Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey. Inside, at the left end, is a money box, but there is no slit in the lid. The date is probably early thirteenth century. The chamfering of the end rails should be compared with the similar work at South Bersted, Sussex, well shown in the illustrations on Plate VII.

The second ancient chest (Plate III, No. 2) is difficult to place as to date. It measures 4 feet 1 inch in breadth, 1 foot 8 inches in height, and is almost entirely covered with iron straps and plates in three layers, the lowest being cut into a rude pattern. There is a central lock with a design in diamond and cross lines upon its hasp, in the end of which is a conical stud; and right and left are two great hasps for padlocks, carried through a massive ring and over the lid to act as hinges. There is a general resemblance between this chest and that preserved in Salisbury cathedral (Plate X, No. 2), which I believe to be of thirteenth-century date. Being practically all of iron, the extraordinarily fresh look of both is hardly a matter for surprise.

Beside the above, there is the very beautiful and most interesting chest lid preserved in the Feretory (Plate IV). This measures 7 feet 9½ inches in length, by 2 feet 5½ inches in width, and the total thickness is about 3½ inches.¹ There is little doubt that this

*The measurements of this and of the two foregoing examples were supplied to me by the kindness of Mr.

H. W. Salmon, photographer, of Winchester, who specially photographed all three at my request.

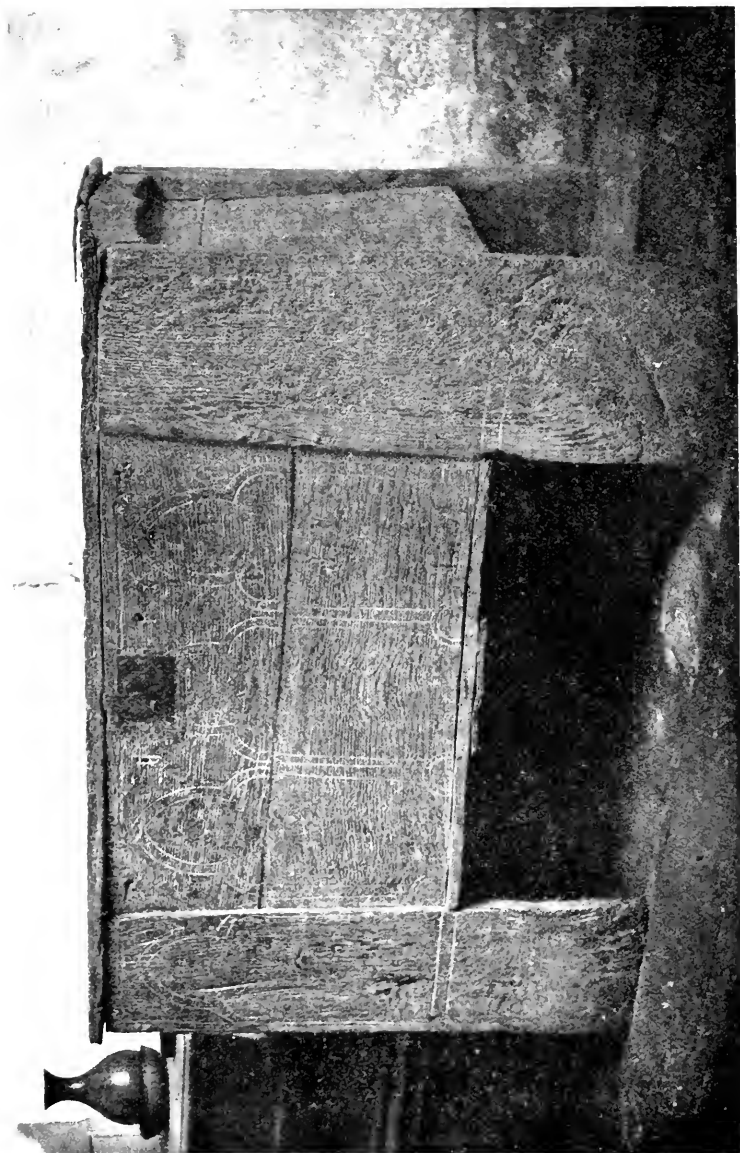
valuable fragment formed part of a relic chest, said to have been given by Sir William de Lillebourne and his wife to the cathedral in 1309. If this be the date of presentation, however, the actual date of the lid is almost certainly twenty years earlier, judging by the sort of nail-head ornament bordering the panels.

The peculiar interest of the lid lies in the paintings, still remaining, though faint and partially destroyed. On the bottom rail, at either end, are the little kneeling figures of the donor and his wife. He is represented in mail armour, his sword by his side, a shield with heraldic charge on his left shoulder and his hands joined as in prayer. The lady, also with joined hands, has a wimple head-dress, and a small shield bearing her coat of arms on her right shoulder.¹ Between them is a long inscription in Lombardic letters, only a few words of which are decipherable. In the centre is a figure of St. John the Baptist holding the image of the *Agnus Dei*. Round the end, middle and top rails are some seventeen heater-shaped shields bearing various heraldic charges, such as the red cross of St. George on a white ground and a chevron counter-charged red and white: another has a plain red ground with a white border. Among the subjects painted on the twelve panels,² going from left to right are, top row (1) St. George and St. Peter; (2) an angel holding the nails and reed; (3) a Majesty, with the evangelistic symbols, S. LVCAS and S. JOHANNES being inscribed on scrolls accompanying those at the top; the lower ones have been destroyed; (4) the Coronation of the Virgin; (5) an angel bearing the spear; (6) figures of two saints. Bottom row (7) figure of a pilgrim and another obliterated: it may represent the legend of St. Edward the Confessor; (8) part of a censuring angel, kneeling; (9) the Virgin and Child, enthroned; (10) the Crucifixion, with SS. Mary and

¹ Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who drew my attention to this remarkable fragment, thinks that the lid was painted after Sir W. de Lillebourne's death in 1334, as he considers that the lady's head-dress indicates that she was

a widow. It appears to me, however, that there is nothing distinctive in the wimple that she is wearing, which was the normal head-dress of the period.

² The inside measurement of one of these panels is 10½ inches by 5½ inches.



GRAVENY, KENT.
Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200-1220.

John ; (11) a censuring angel, holding an incense boat in his left hand ; (12) two figures of saints almost obliterated.

The style of all these paintings, if not co-eval with the lid, can be only slightly later, and they constitute a rare and highly interesting example of the painted decoration which must originally have added to the beauty of many of our early chests. The special purpose for which the chest was dedicated gives to the paintings on the lid a peculiar value.

HERTS. ANSTEY.

Mr. Grose-Lloyd informs us that there is a pin-hinged chest here, resembling that at Long Stanton St. Michael (Fig. 3), saving that it has no carved roundels.

KENT. *GRAVENEY. (Plate V.)

This chest is of about the date 1200–20, and is figured in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*. Length, 4 feet 5 inches ; width 2 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; height, 2 feet $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The height is greater than in most kindred examples. There is no money-slit or internal hutch, and only one lock, co-eval with the chest. The lid is pin-hinged, and the planks in the ends are set sloping inwards, a peculiarity of construction shared with one of the Chichester chests (Fig. 15), and those at Godalming and Ditchling (Figs. 10 and 20). The chief point of interest is the incised ornamentation on the front in thin lines, which takes the form of five trefoil-headed arches, the "shafts" of which spring from three-quarter circles in lieu of bases, all very simple and quaint in character. Compare the similar incised ornamentation on one of the Chichester chests (Fig. 15), and the arcades at Clymping, Sussex (Fig. 17), and Wintringham, Norfolk (Fig. 5). The proportion of the trefoil heads in itself suggests an early date, the upper lobe being much larger than the lower ones, as in the earliest thirteenth-century work at Lincoln cathedral. It may be doubted whether the craftsman ever intended to cut these arches in relief, the simple incised work was probably meant for the finished ornamentation.

KENT. SALTWOOD.

This very fine long chest dates from the very end of the thirteenth century. Length, 7 feet 5 inches; width, 2 feet 6 inches; height, 1 foot 11 inches. There are no less than four locks, all apparently original, and the front is elaborately carved with tracery, wyverns, roses, foliage, etc.¹ The tracery on the front takes the form of five windows, each divided into four trefoiled lights with two six-leaved flowers above, and over all a six-foiled circle. The total effect is very rich.

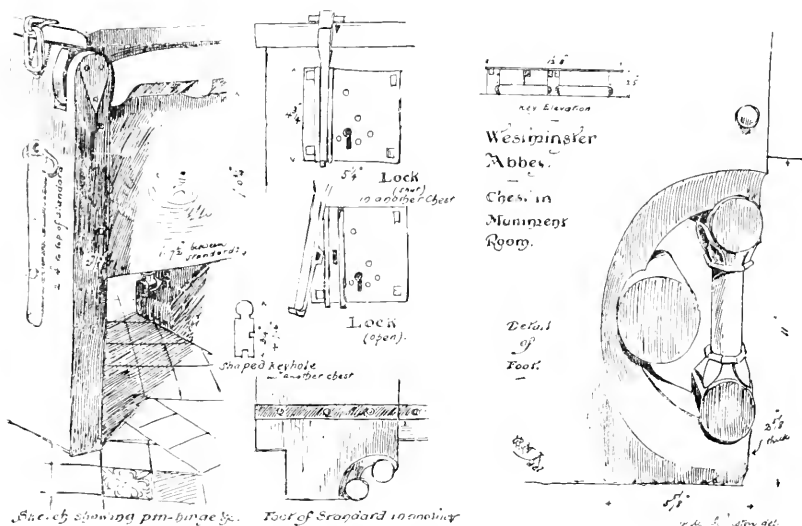


FIG. 1.

MIDDLESEX. *WESTMINSTER ABBEY. (Fig. 4.)

There are at least seven chests of this period preserved in the Triforium and Pyx Chapel, dating generally between c. 1220 and 1250. One in the former, which has beautiful scrolld hinges, *may* belong to the last years of the twelfth century, and another, in the latter, to the end of the thirteenth century. These alone have strap-hinges; the others are worked with the pin-hinge. In the locks, chamfering of framework, and ornamentation of the feet of the standards, they have points in common

¹ It has been illustrated, *inter alia*, in Mr. Roe's *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*, 34, and in *Archaeologia Cantabrigia*, xviii, 421.

with the Surrey-Sussex group.¹ Some are of great length, being in effect double chests, with a middle as well as end standards. One such is 12 feet 8 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet 5 inches high. The late Mr. W. Burges noticed the resemblance in construction and ornamentation between this chest and one of ordinary size in Salisbury cathedral. The pin-hinges are protected by kite-shaped pieces of iron, as at Stoke d'Abernon. Round-headed iron rivets of large size and square-headed oak pins are used in the construction, both features found in the Surrey-Sussex group. Beyond the ornamented feet of the standards, which have a detached shaft with a peculiar cap and base, set within a half-moon-shaped opening,² there is practically no ornamentation, except in the ironwork. The locks are very elaborate and perfect. Some at least of these are treasure-chests, some for keeping talleys of the Exchequer, and probably others were used for the safe keeping of charters, books, plate, and vestments. Good woodcuts of three of these chests appear in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster*. The large chest in the chapel of the Pyx has some fine wrought iron-work with stamped or moulded rosettes as terminations to the reeded straps, the work bearing some resemblance to the celebrated iron grille over Queen Eleanor's tomb in the abbey, the date of which is about 1290. Compare also for the ironwork the smaller chest at Chichester and that at West Horsley, Surrey, though both are probably earlier. The lid opens in two sections. Westminster Abbey is unique in possessing such a valuable group of early chests. They demand a fully illustrated account to themselves, and I cannot in the present paper attempt to do justice to their many points of interest.

MIDDLESEX. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

There is a chest of English workmanship and

¹ One or two have chains hanging on their backs, by which they were originally attached to wooden posts or to a wall (*cf.* Clypping, Fig. 19). Similar protecting chains remain on the Shere chest.

² Similar in idea to the foot of the Chichester chest (Fig. 15), except that the space within the half-circle is pierced, instead of solid, as in the latter. The same *motif* is found in thirteenth-century choir stall-ends.

thirteenth-century date here, figured in Mr. Roe's book, the front and sides of which are covered with beautiful iron scrollwork, somewhat resembling that at Church Brampton, Northants. Its original home is unknown. This is quite one of the gems of mediaeval furniture.

NORFOLK. SOUTH ACRE.

This chest, illustrated in the *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*,¹ has many of the characteristics of the thirteenth century, especially in the roundels of star and prism pattern, spread over the front like a border, but the roses, an arcade of interlacing arches, a crowned \mathfrak{M} and other details, point rather to a later date. Length, 5 feet $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, 2 feet 5 inches. These are narrow end standards, and under the central body is some curious cusping. The sides have plain cross framework.

NORFOLK. *WINTRINGHAM. (Fig. 5.)

The exceptionally interesting character of this chest is at once apparent on consulting the accompanying illustration.² It belongs to the pin-hinge group, but has this peculiarity, that while the body of the chest is obviously very early, probably not later than 1200, and possibly ten years or so earlier, yet the lid, with its raised wings or hinge-rails, closely resembles the later type found at Buxted (Plate VII) and Ditchling, Sussex (Fig. 20). This would suggest the probability that both types of pin-hinged lid were in use from an early date, but that the simpler form prevailed more generally, because of its simplicity.

The chest consists of a central body and end standards. There is practically no ironwork about it, excepting one large central lock-plate and hasp, which appear to be original, some small square-headed nails and straps. The lid rises *en dos d'âne*, and the planking of the ends tumbles inwards, as in other examples.

¹ iii, 68.

² My attention was drawn to this chest by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, and

I have made the accompanying drawing from a photograph kindly given me by his son.

The most remarkable feature is the shallow arcading, in little more than incised lines, carried across the front, which, with its interlaced circular arches and square capitals has quite a Transitional Norman character. It at once recalls the somewhat earlier open balustrade or arcade in woodwork, well-known to antiquaries, at Compton church, Surrey. At the same time, the incised lines remind one of the arcade on the Graveney chest. In both cases the arches on the standards right and left of the

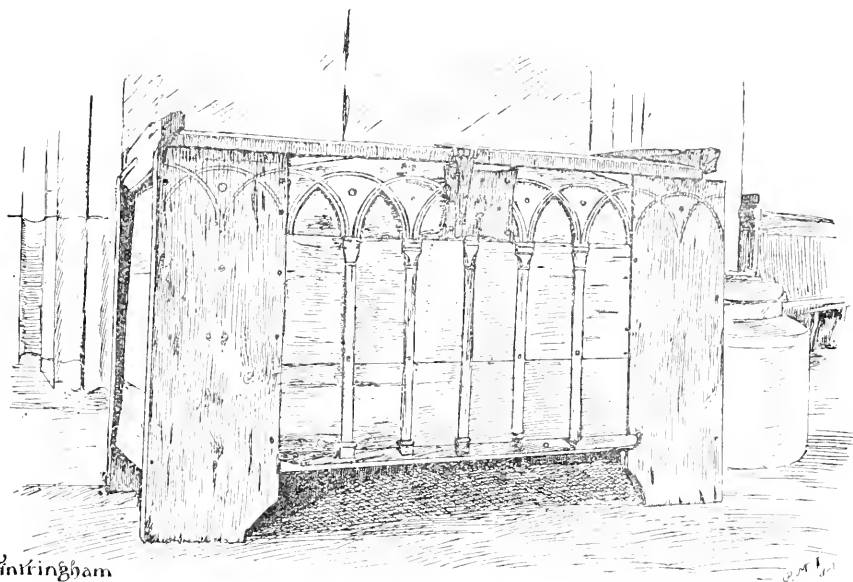


FIG. 5.

centre are much more lightly traced upon the wood than those on the body of the chest.

NORTHAMPTON. CHURCH BRAMPION.

A chest totally unlike the wooden pin-hinge group. It is possibly as old as the last decade of the twelfth century, and is simply a long box, unornamented, save for some incised lines or beading along the top edge, but it is covered with the most beautiful iron scroll-work, extremely graceful in design and delicate in execution. It retains its original key-plate hasps and

staples for two padlocks, also probably co-eval, and the carrying handles at the ends.¹

NORTHAMPTON. PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

The form and ornamentation of this beautiful example proclaim its late thirteenth-century date. The central part bears an intricate design of interlacing tracery of a simple geometrical type, in which the prominent features are trefoil arches, quatrefoils, and little five-petalled roses, with which the interstices are incrustured. The standards have each three roundels of the whorl, or spiral pattern. The ends are protected by an applied framework. There is one original lock. It is only right to say that Mr. Roe² casts doubt upon the genuineness of the carving on this chest.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. UPTON.

There is a large iron-bound chest, of early thirteenth-century date, in this church.³ Length, 6 feet 3 inches; width, 2 feet; height, 2 feet 5½ inches. There have been three locks; and front, sides and top, are bound across with iron straps, some with roses and trefoils at the ends, some worked into cross-shaped devices, with X-like pieces radiating from the centre of the cross. There are lifting-rings at the ends. Both in construction and details this chest resembles that at West Horsley, Surrey. (Plate VI.)

OXFORDSHIRE. *BLOXHAM.

There is an interesting early thirteenth-century-chest here, the end standards of which have feet terminating in a pierced quadrant and little column as at Chichester and Westminster. The quadrant is enriched with a nail-head border (as at Chichester), and on the inside edge with a square-cut foliation, also somewhat like that at Chichester, but quite plain. I have not seen this example, and local enquiries failed to elicit any further information.

¹ Mr. Roe in his *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*, illustrates it with an excellent photograph, a much better rendering than the engraving in Parker's *Glossary* or Viollet le-Duc's *Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français*.

² *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*.

³ Illustrated in *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, iv, Plate ix; and in Andrews's *Ecclesiastical Curiosities* 167.

OXFORDSHIRE. ST. MARY MAGDALENE'S, OXFORD.

This very beautiful chest, illustrated in Mr. Roe's *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*, so strikingly resembles that at Saltwood, Kent, that there can be little doubt that both are productions of the same hand or at least of the same group of craftsmen. As at Saltwood, so here, there are wyverns, Geometrical window tracery roses, and a peculiar notched pyramidal ornamentation on the front standards. Beneath these on the feet of the standards is a single row of three stars or dog's teeth, recalling the honeycombed feet at Clymping. (Fig. 17.) As in some of the earlier examples, the ends are constructed with a framework of crossed bars or rails backed by a plain panel of boarding.

Mr. Roe supposes this chest to date from the middle of the fourteenth century, but its likeness to the Saltwood chest, which he himself places at "about 1300," appears to me to warrant its inclusion within the thirteenth-century period. Indeed, of the two chests this one seems to be the earlier if anything, judging by the character of the tracery, and other details.¹

SHROPSHIRE. COUND.²

Probably late twelfth century. Length, 6 feet 3 inches; breadth, 1 foot 5 inches; height, 1 foot 10 inches. It is of oak, clamped with scrolled hinges and straps, and thickly studded with round-headed nails, the body and standards being very ingeniously dove-tailed together. The latter have shaped feet, like those in the Heckfield example (Plate II). The lid is slightly coped. There is an inner money-box, and at the ends are links and a ring for carrying.

SHROPSHIRE. MEOLE BRACE.

There is a fine chest here, having centre body and

¹ With them should be compared the very beautiful chest now in the Cluny museum, illustrated in Mr. Roe's *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*, 29. This has that eminently thirteenth-century peculiarity, the pin-hinge, and, like the others, has a front of Geometrical window tracery, wyverns, dragons and roses. The twelve knights on the front bearing shields with various heraldic charges, and the "army" carved on the side panel, together with other carvings

on the lid, render this chest, as Viollet-le-Duc observes, the most beautiful that remains to us of this century. It should be mentioned here that the pin-hinge is found in other Continental examples of thirteenth-century chest, as in that in the museum at Ypres, Belgium, illustrated by Mr. Roe on page 125 of his work.

² Very fully illustrated in an article in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, ix.

flanking standards, and braced with iron scrolled bends.¹ It retains a lock and a padlock and the scrolled ends of the hinges resemble those in the lost chest of Rustington. The lid takes a peculiar ridged form sometimes found in these early examples.

SOMERSET. ST. JOHN'S, GLASTONBURY.

Of the middle or latter part of the thirteenth century. The central body has six tracery panels of *vesica* shape quatrefoiled, and divided by a horizontal bar; and five painted shields with heraldic charges. The standards have each a row of five incised geometrical patterns, chiefly stars and whorls or spirals. Length 6 feet 2 inches, width 2 feet 4 inches, height without lid 2 feet 7 inches. The ends are in one piece, with two horizontal stop-chamfered rails. There is no lid now. The front is studded with large iron rivets and retains its two iron lock-plates, cut like shields.²

STAFFORDSHIRE. *ST. CHAD'S, STAFFORD.

Colonel Hart describes this chest as of the thirteenth century and as having no ironwork: "The front and one end are ornamented with trefoil-headed panels; the other end has one panel only, and this is diapered with incised lines."³ The flanking stands of the front have quadrant pieces cut out of the foot, with a little column having a capital and base, forming as it were the string of the bow. This last detail corresponds with the Chichester, Westminster, Bloxham and other chests.

SUFFOLK. ICKLINGWORTH.

This is well illustrated by a photographic plate in Cox's *English Church Furniture*.⁴ It is 5 feet 9 inches long, 1 foot 9 inches wide and 1 foot 6 inches high, and is an oblong box, the whole of which is practically covered with very handsome iron scrollwork. It is of early thirteenth-century date and much resembles that at Church Brampton, particularly in the character of the ironwork, which is practically identical in design and

¹ An excellent illustration of this chest appears in Mr. T. D. Atkinson's *Glossary of Terms used in English Architecture*.

² Good measured drawings of this beautiful chest, by the late Mr. J. T.

Micklethwaite, F.S.A., are to be found in *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, iv, plate ix.

³ *Transactions of the Birmingham and Midland Institute*, xx, 74.

⁴ 292.

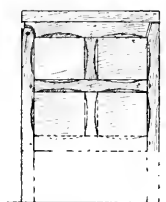
must have been forged by the same smith. It has one original lock and two padlock hasps strapped over the ends. The original handles for lifting also remain.

SUFFOLK. *EARL STONHAM. (Fig. 6 and Plate XI.)

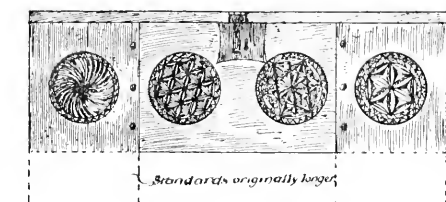
This has every feature of the Surrey-Sussex group, including carved geometrical roundels. The feet of the standards, which originally raised the body of the chest above the floor, have been cut off. Length 5 feet 8 inches, width 1 foot 10½ inches, height 1 foot 10½ inches; there are panelled ends, and a central iron lock (original). Along the front are four large roundels, similar to those at Stoke d'Abernon, but one foot in diameter. The patterns are practically identical and are : (1) the spiral ; (2) seven interlaced stars or flowers ;

Earl Stonham.

10ft 8in 5ft 8in 1 10½in 1 10½in 5ft 8in



End.



Front.

Other roundels from Stokes and Stoke d'Abernon.

FIG. 6.

(3) interlaced triangles, divided up into stars or prisms ; (4) a single star, set within a double zigzag border. The others have a single border of zigzags. There can be no doubt that the same workman or guild, using the same patterns, made the Stoke d'Abernon, this, and other chests. The three pieces of which the front is composed, are riveted together with bolts, having large round convex heads, such as are found in some of the Westminster and Surrey-Sussex groups. The "panelled" framework at the ends is similar to that at South Bersted (Plate VII and fig. 13).

SUFFOLK. *POSLENGFORD.

There is a chest here with zigzag carving of the same character as that at Earl Stonham. It has a centre body and end standards.

SURREY. CHARLWOOD. (Fig. 8.)¹

The chest in this out-of-the-way church is of the same type as that at Worth, just over the Sussex border, and, like it, differs in construction from the other chests of this early Surrey-Sussex group.

Details of Chests.

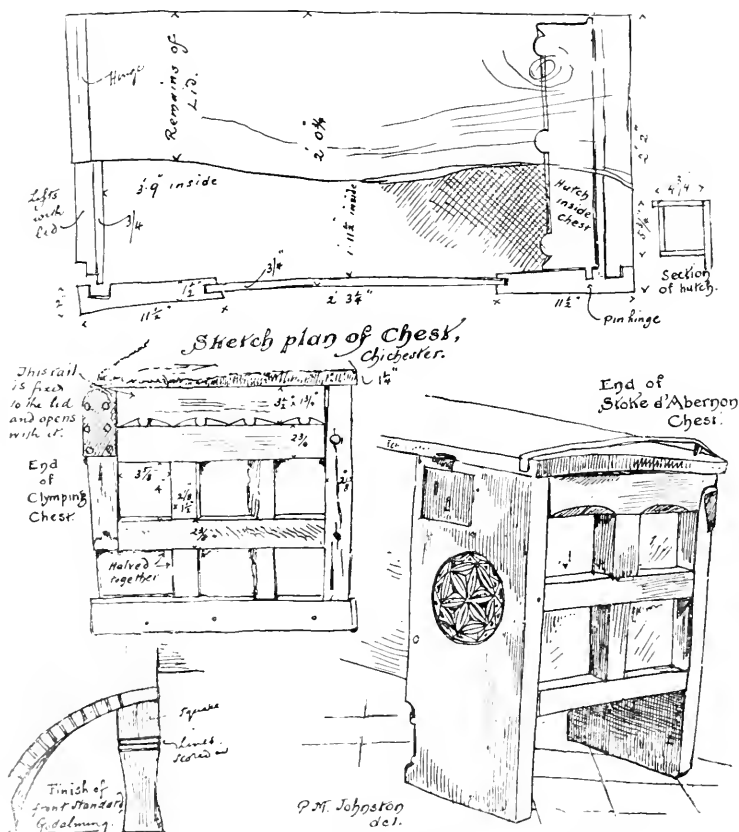
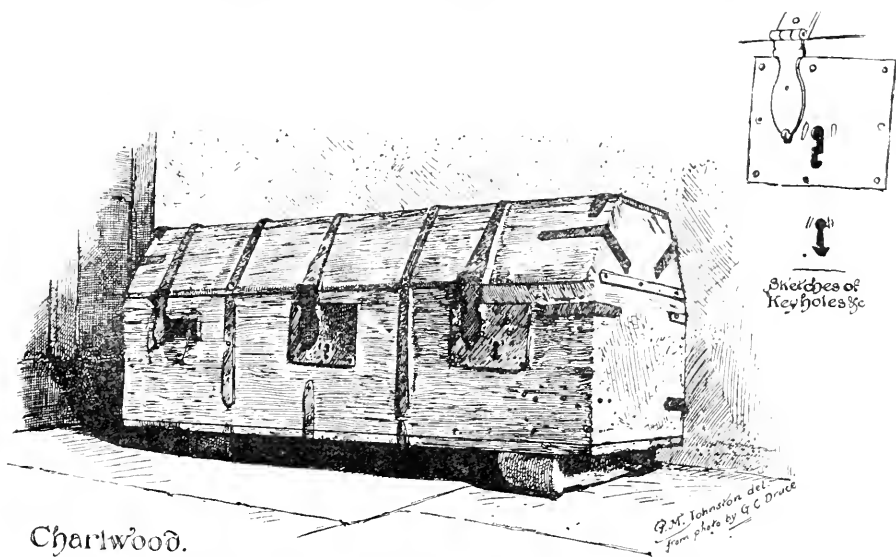


FIG. 7.—DETAILS AT GODALMING, STOKÉ D'ABERNON, CHICHESTER AND CLYMPING.

Instead of the flat lid it has a three-sided coped top, as at Worth. It stands upon two detached blocks of wood to keep it off the floor, and as from the nature of its construction it is evident that there were never any upright standards, this may be an original arrange-

¹ The illustration is from a photograph by my friend Mr. G. C. Druce.

ment. The bottom, front, back and ends are each in a single plank or piece, and the \sqrt{a} -shaped top is also in three planks, the ends (at a) being filled in with a solid piece, the whole secured by nails and bound together with plain iron straps, vertical over the main body and horizontal across the angles. Three of those which pass over the lid terminate in hasps having a knuckle joint, and these hasps correspond to three oblong lock-plates (that on the left is now missing), which have key-holes shaped to the outline of the



Charlwood.

FIG. 8.

wards of the key, a detail found in the chests at Westminster, Stoke d'Abernon, Felpham and elsewhere (Figs. 4, 12 and 14), and which I venture to claim as a special thirteenth century characteristic. As the south aisle of this interesting church belongs to the latter half of that century it is possible that the chest was connected with some guild or chantry, for which the aisle or chapel was built.

SURREY. *CHOBHAM. (Fig. 9.)¹

This chest has the central body and end standards

¹ I owe to the kindness of Miss Mitchell, of Chobham vicarage, an excellent photograph of this chest, from

which my drawing is reproduced. There is also a good drawing of it in Mr. Roe's *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards*.

(their feet shaped on the inner edge, as at Stoke d'Abernon), the three oblong lock-plates, the convex-headed rivets, the inward sloping panel at the ends, and the pin-hinge, as in the other examples. Its lid has unfortunately been renewed quite recently, and the original hasps of the locks removed, though the iron straps have been replaced on the new lid. In addition to these, it has two very elegant fleur-de-lys-headed straps fastened on the front of the body, with round-headed nails, a row of which remain also in the centre. The date is about 1250.

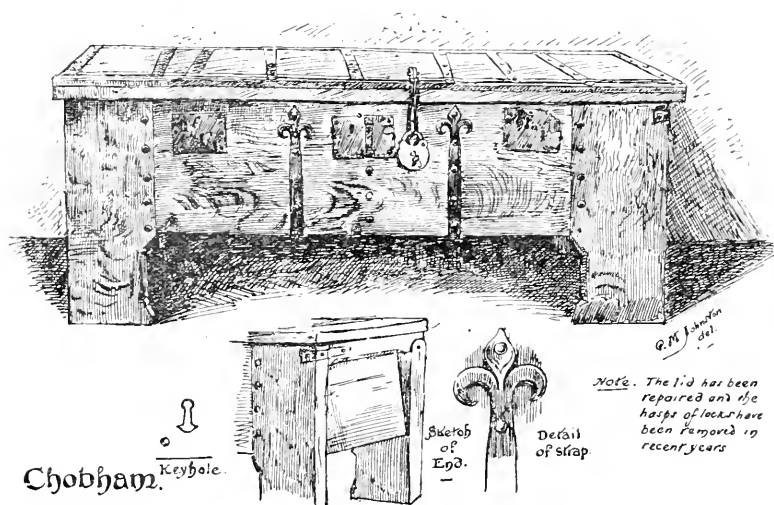


FIG. 9.

SURREY. *GODALMING. (Figs. 7 and 10.)

The chest here is a good example of the plainer type of the Surrey-Sussex group. Length, 5 feet 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, 1 foot 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, 2 feet 4 inches. The massive lid, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, the pin-hinge, framed ends, three original locks, and circular-headed iron rivets, are all in perfect preservation. Probably there is a money-tray or hutch inside, but the chest being locked it was impossible to see. There is no external slit. The styles and rails of the ends and the backs of the standards are very prettily stop-chamfered, and the stops, which are of a peculiar

pattern in the latter case, are identical with those on the standards of the large plain chest at Bosham (Fig. 14), which the Godalming chest closely resembles. One detail, namely, the finish of the feet of the standards, is very curious. It is a quadrant instead of a semi-circle, with a little square angle post taking the place of the miniature column described in one of the Westminster chests. The quadrant is finished with a border of a sort of ribbed pattern. This same detail is repeated identically in the Rogate chest (Fig. 22). The sides of this chest slope inwards in an upward

Godalming.

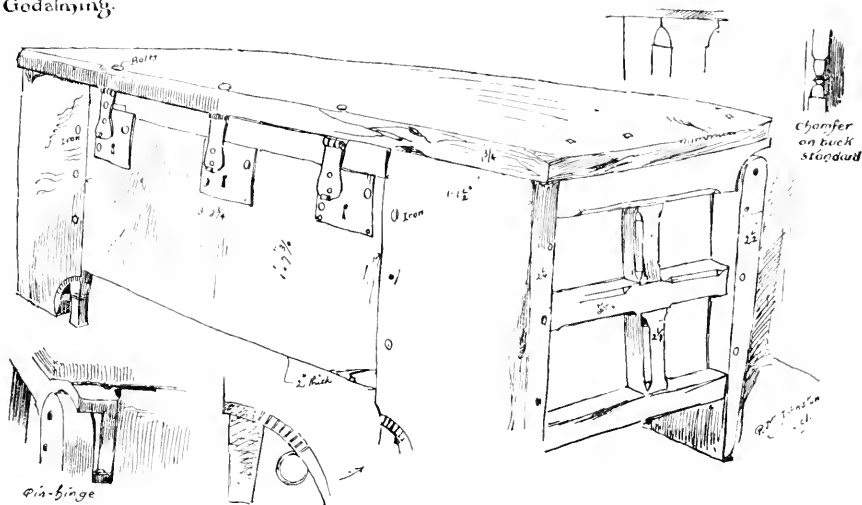


FIG. 10.

direction, and the face framing follows the same angle, as at Felpham (Fig. 14). The date is about 1200-1220.

SURREY. WEST HORSLEY. (Plate VI.)

The chest here is simply a long box, bound both vertically and horizontally with iron straps. Length, 5 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, 1 foot 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; height, 1 foot 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Some of the straps are wrought to a reeded section, and have splayed-out heads of a rosette pattern, similar to the grille on Queen Eleanor's tomb at Westminster, and the other iron-work known to have been executed by John de

Leighton, about 1250. I should be inclined, however, to put the date of this chest somewhat earlier than the grille, namely, at about 1220. As in the case of the smaller coffer at Chichester, and of one at Westminster, for the purpose of raising the chest above the floor, some of these vertical straps have little feet. The smaller of the two thirteenth-century coffers at Chichester has very similar straps: so also has the Upton chest, above-mentioned.¹ It has an enormous hasp in the centre of the front, with a knuckle joint to a strap on the lid, and there are two oblong lock-plates right and left, the hasps of which are missing. The iron straps have large round-headed rivets, and at the ends are the remains of handles for lifting.

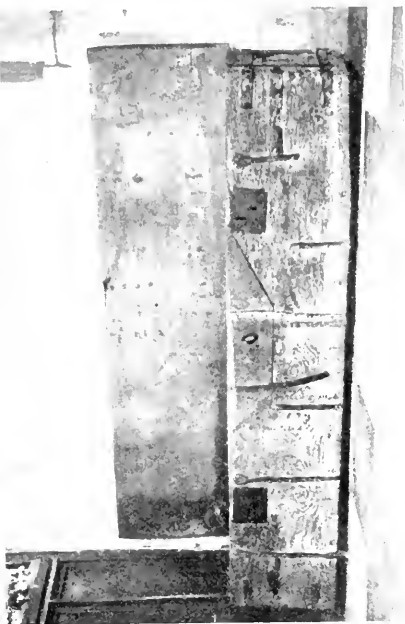
SURREY. *SHERE. (Plate VI.)

This long and massive chest, rescued by the rector from a stable-loft, and now standing on the floor of the south porch,² is a plain specimen of the Surrey-Sussex group. It bears a general resemblance to the Godalming chest, especially in the stop-chamfered framework of the ends. Length, 7 feet 3 inches; width, 1 foot 9 inches; height, now about 2 feet, but the standards have obviously been shortened some 4 inches or more, and the ornamental terminations, if any, destroyed. The standards and lid are about 2 inches thick. The latter works on pin-hinges, and it and the central body are protected by iron straps studded with round-headed nails. There are three iron lock-plates with their hasps, all in very perfect condition, and on the back the remains of the massive chains by which the chest was originally fastened to a wall. A quirked and beaded moulding runs along the lower edge of the central body. The rector, the Rev. F. C. Hill, informs me that there are remains of two hutches³ inside at either end. A curious circular iron washer, with a rivet through it, remains on the front, similar to others I have noted on the South Bersted, Salisbury, and Westminster chests, forming

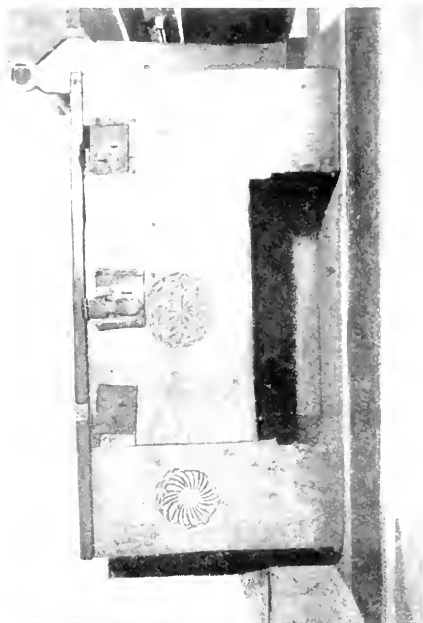
¹ This chest is illustrated by the late Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, in *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, iv, Plate ix.

² It would be drier inside the church.

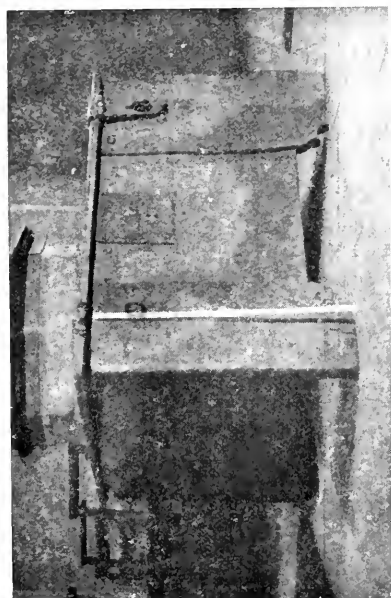
³ Beneath one of these hutches is a secret well.



WEST HORSELEY, SURREY.
Strap-hinged chest, date *circa* 1220.



STOKE D'ABERNON, SURREY.
Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200-1220.



WEXINGTON, ESSEX.
Early thirteenth-century pin-hinged chest.



SHERE, SURREY.
Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200-1220.



Left side.

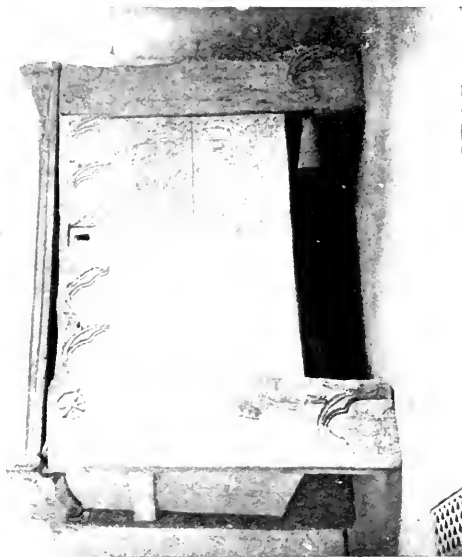
SOUTH BEASTED, SUSSEX.
Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200.



Right side and end.



BOSHAM, SUSSEX.
Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200-1220.



BUXTED, SUSSEX.
Pin-hinged chest with coped lid, late thirteenth century.

the original locking arrangement. The date is about 1200--1220.

SURREY. *STOKE D'ABERNON. (Plates VI and XII, and Figs. 7, 11 and 12.)

This is one of the best preserved and most thoroughly typical, as it is also perhaps the best known, of the pin-hinge group of chests. There is a good illustration of it in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*. The date may be taken to be about 1200--1220. The chest is of oak, polished with long use and hard as iron, and like others of its class, it would seem to have been originally partially coloured. Traces of red appear in the curved roundels. Length, 3 feet 11½ inches; width, 1 foot 6½ inches; total height, 2 feet 2 inches. The lid being in one slab from 1 inch to 1¼ inches in thickness, and, like the other planks of which the chest is constructed, this appears to have been cleft and adzed, not sawn. The front and back are each formed with two end standards 10½ inches wide, by from 1¾ inches to 1¼ inches in thickness, and into these the centre plank is tenoned. The back standards, having more work to do, are the thicker. The ends of the chest present a panelled effect, through the plain slab with which they are closed being faced with a construction of posts and rails, halved together and tenoned into the standards. The top rail, as in the other pin-hinge chests, opens with the lid. A reference to the illustration (Fig. 11) will make this clear. The body of the chest is 1 foot 4½ inches deep, and it is raised by the prolongation of the standards about 7¾ inches above the floor. The inner edges of the front standards are worked into the semblance of a semi-octagonal pilaster, a feature that recurs many times over, with variations, in this Southern Counties group of chests. Upon the upper part of these standards and in the centre of the front are roundels incised with geometrical patterns, the side ones 6½ inches in diameter, and the central 7½ inches. These are given in the folding Plate XII, from rubbings reduced to exactly half the real size, to compare with others taken from similar chests. The designs of these roundels (repeated almost identically

Felpham (Plate XII), and Midhurst (Plate XV), extends to the actual sizes of the roundels and to the number of zigzags and spirals composing one of the designs. At Stoke d'Abernon No. 1 in Plate XII is a whorl pattern, with spirals radiating from the centre, within a zigzag border: No. 2 is a prism design, based upon two interlacing triangles: while No. 3 has a six-petalled flower or star set in the same border, perhaps founded on the ancient method of representing the sun. The patterns are cut in to a depth of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch.

Three oblong iron lock-plates, of the same date as the chest, are fixed at irregular intervals upon the

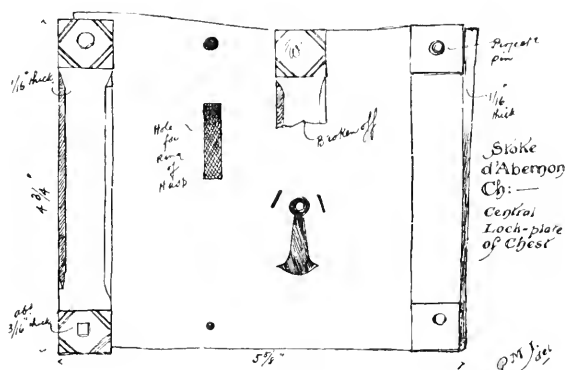


FIG. 12.

front, the original hasps, gracefully shaped and chiselled, remaining in two cases. The centre lock-plate is bolted on for additional security with chiselled strips at each side, as at Long Stanton St. Michael, Cambs. and elsewhere. The keyholes are gracefully shaped and take the exact outline of the key (Fig. 12), a characteristic peculiarity in the thirteenth century: in the Long Stanton, Charlwood, Chobham, Felpham and Westminster chests, for example, the keyholes of the similar lock-plates are cut to the irregular profile of the wards of the key. The back standards, which are stouter, are quite plain, and in connection with them is found the most characteristic feature of this type of chest, namely, the pin-hinge, a feature peculiar, so far as

extant examples go, to the thirteenth century and an infallible test of date. The Stoke d'Abernon chest is a very complete example of this pin-hinge type, the peculiarity of which is full set out above at p. 249, and is well seen in many of the illustrations accompanying this paper. To the lid at each side is affixed a rail which forms part of the design of the panelled end, and the rear end of this rail is shaped so as to run over the rounded top of the standard, a pin being passed through a hole in both to act as a pivot. The outer face of the end of the standard is securely shod with iron which, in some cases, is carried round the sides, as well as on the face, to protect the end of the pivot-pin and prevent its being withdrawn or working out. The form which this iron plate takes in the Stoke d'Abernon and some other examples (*e.g.* Chichester and Westminster) is that of a kite-shaped shield, an interesting "note" in itself, as suggesting a twelfth-century pedigree for this small detail of constructional ornament. Hinged in this manner, the chest would be extremely difficult to force open when locked, whereas iron strap-hinges might be prized off with comparative ease.

There is another noteworthy feature about this chest, shared by most of the others in this early group, namely, the little tray or hutch within, intended for the reception of money. Other chests in this list will be found to share the same peculiarity, but not all have the corresponding slit in the outer lid, answering to one in the lid of the little tray, as is the case at Long Stanton, Bosham, Chichester, Clymping, (Fig. 18), Midhurst, and others. In this chest the hutch has lost its lid, but evidence of its former existence is to be seen in the two round holes in the front and back standards, in which the lid pivoted. This hutch, though to all appearance only a shallow box, framed into the solid walls of the chest, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by about the same depth, has below it a false panel, recessed so as to appear to be the end wall of the chest. In reality it marks a cavity about 7 inches deep, by 3 inches wide, of the same length as the hutch above. It is covered at the top by the bottom of the hutch,

which slides in and out, being moved by means of a groove on the under edge, into which the finger-tips can be inserted. By this ingenious contrivance (which is found also at Long Stanton, Fig. 3, Bosham, Fig. 14, and Rogate, Fig. 22) the money collected in the hutch itself could be easily made to fall into the well or cavity below and thus be securely concealed, either when the hutch was full, or as an additional security against thieves.

This chest was put together with square-headed oak pins, as at Godalming, Clymping, Westminster and others, and the lid was further guarded against being prized off by iron strap-hinges, which passed over the lid and down the back. One of these, after lying loose for many years, has disappeared.¹

SUSSEX. *ARUNDEL.

There is an illustration in *Examples of Ancient and Modern Furniture*, by B. J. Talbert, of an early thirteenth-century chest, said to be in this church, which bears a considerable resemblance to that at Stoke d'Abernon in design and construction. It is stated to be 4 feet 10 inches long, 1 foot 10 inches wide, and 2 feet 11 inches high. The front standards are shaped at the feet like those at Stoke d'Abernon, with the addition of an incised roundel (zigzags and stars) on each foot, not a full circle, but a three-quarter one, like the similar ornament in the Chichester chest. This chest had iron straps and one original lock. There were iron rivets and oak pins used in the construction, and the ends were divided into two panels by a central horizontal rail. I cannot learn what has become of this chest. It has not been heard of by the present vicar, the Rev. E. S. Saleebey, who has most obligingly made enquiries. There is a small iron-bound chest there, but it is probably not older than the sixteenth century.

SUSSEX. *SOUTH BERSTED. (Plate VII² and Fig. 13.)

This, although it has lost the feet of the standards,

¹ The writer has lately had a hinge repaired, and other trifling matters seen to at the request of the vicar and churchwardens.

² I am indebted to Mr. Druce for the photographs from which this plate has been prepared.

is one of the most interesting and best preserved of the Surrey-Sussex group. It is no less than 6 feet long, the width is 2 feet, and the body, including the lid, which is 2 inches thick, stands at present 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high from the floor.¹ It possesses all the salient characteristics of the group, namely, pin-hinge, "panelled" ends, lock plates, and rivets with circular convex heads, but no internal hutch with lid, for money offerings, although there must have been one originally. The curious, rather than beautiful, designs of the roundels, which are 9 inches in diameter, are well shown in Plate VII. That on the left standard has a zigzag border, somewhat differently treated from those at Earl Stonham, Felpham, Stoke d'Abernon and Midhurst

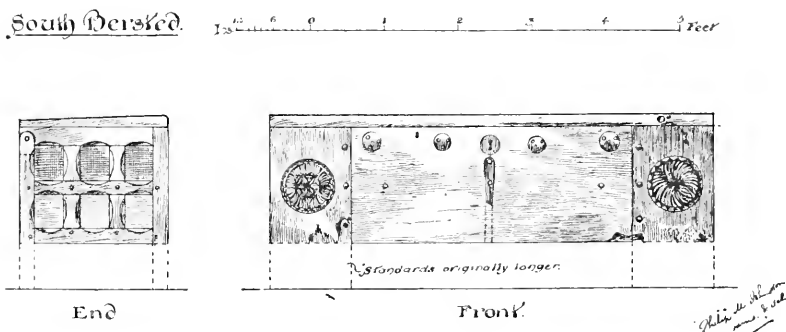


FIG. 13.

(Plates XII to XV), and Long Stanton. In the centre is a six-petalled flower or star, the centre of which is marked by a large round-headed nail. Between this and the border is a freak pattern of spirals, going in contrary directions, as though the craftsman had done a piece and then reversed the design five times. The right-hand roundel has one large spiral pattern, half of the spirals going one way and half the other, giving the impression of a man's head under the machine-brush at a hair-dresser's! The styles and rails of the ends, shown in the illustration, have curved

¹ But it has lost its feet, which, if added on the analogy of other examples, would make the total height about 2 feet 4 inches. It is gratifying to

record that, as the result of advice tendered by the writer, the chest is to be raised on baulks to keep it above the floor and so protect it from damp.

chamfers, which also occur at Long Stanton, Earl Stonham, Felpham, and in the top rail at Stoke d'Abernon and Bosham. Originally the lock was a long bolt controlled by one key. The iron bosses on the front, shown in the illustration, have to do with this, as at Westminster, Shere, Bosham and Salisbury. The date cannot be much after 1200.

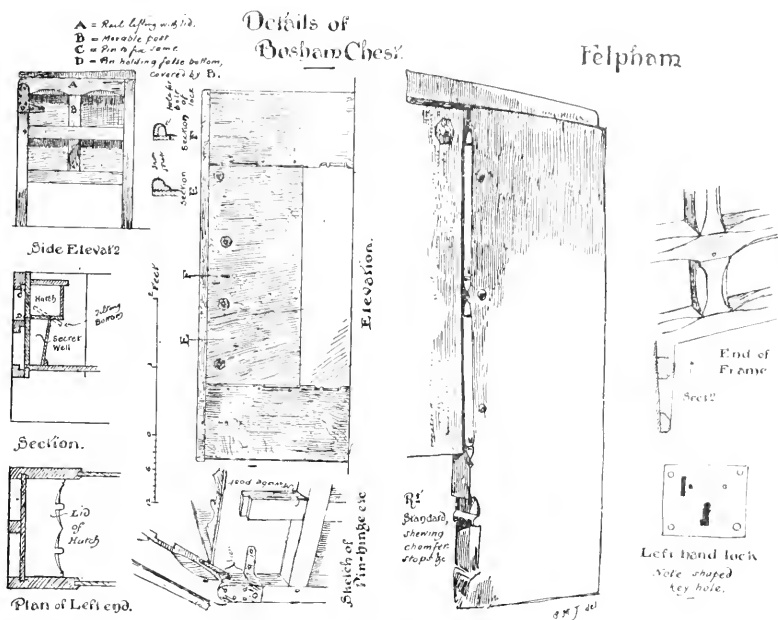


FIG. 14.

SUSSEX. BOSHAM. (Plate VII and Fig. 14.)

This chest, as has been before remarked, closely resembles that at Godalming, Surrey,¹ so closely, indeed, as to compel the conclusion that both are by the same hand. The dimensions are: length 5 feet 6 inches, width 1 foot 9½ inches, height 2 feet 2½ inches. It has no roundels, and is a very plain, solid and well-preserved example, dating from about 1200-1220. The most noteworthy features are the pin hinges, in perfect working order, the "panelled" ends, the "pilaster" terminations to the standards (exactly like

¹ A peculiar "stop" to the narrow chamfer on the standards is found in both chests.

those at Stoke d'Abernon, Midhurst, etc.), the curious lock controlled by one key, yet locking by means of a long bolt, four hasps that fall *inside* the chest,¹ and above all, the little internal hutch or "till" for money offerings, with its quaintly scalloped lid,² and the remarkable secret well beneath. All these points are shown on the accompanying illustration, which I have made from my own photograph, supplemented by measurements, sketches and notes supplied by my assistant Mr. C. G. MacDowell, and the respected vicar of Bosham, the Rev. K. H. MacDermott.

To the antiquarian zeal of the latter gentleman we owe an important and highly interesting discovery, which at least proves that the chest is of thirteenth-century date. I give the record of this in his own words:³

"We have quite recently made a most interesting find in the old parish chest in the church. According to Mr. Philip Johnston . . . the chest is of about the date 1210, thus being 700 years old, and in giving a description of it to Mr. Johnston we, at his suggestion, searched for and discovered a secret well or chamber under the box or 'hutch' inside the chest. The hutch has a false bottom to it, which forms the lid of the well. This discovery filled us with intense excitement and tantalised us beyond measure, for at first it seemed impossible to open it. . . . We eagerly proceeded to fathom the secret, and at length, after many vain efforts, succeeded in opening the mysterious chamber, when behold! dust and cobwebs . . . alone met our gaze. But these might hide something yet, and our further search was rewarded by the discovery of a tiny little coin, which dropped from the false bottom of the hutch into the chest itself. This has turned out to be an extremely interesting find, for the coin is a silver Anglo-Irish halfpenny of the date of Edward I. (1272-1307), and in all probability it has lain hidden in the chest, unknown and unseen by the thousands of persons who have sat within a yard or two of it for over five hundred years! The coin, which is now in the glass case in the church is inscribed as follows:

Obverse : EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB. (*Edwardus Rex Anglie Dominus Hyberniæ* : Edward King of England and Lord of Ireland), with the King's full-faced bust in a triangle.

Reverse : A long cross, with three pellets in each angle, and the words CIVITAS VATERFOR.

This latter inscription indicates the place where the coin was minted

¹ Chests at South Bersted, Shere, Salisbury, Westminster, and (probably originally) Godalming, were made with this peculiar method of locking, the outward tokens of which are the iron

bolts and washers in a line just beneath the lid, *vide* illustrations.

² *Cf.* that at Long Stanton St. Michael, Cambs.

³ *Bosham Parish Mag.*, Dec., 1907.

viz., Waterford, in Ireland.¹ The title, 'Lord of Ireland,' was first held by King John, and Anglo-Irish money was coined by him and his successors at the mints at Dublin, Cork and Waterford."

This interesting discovery sets one wondering whether like finds may not await the curious investigator in the case of others of our ancient chests, especially those that have secret wells. It is a remarkable fact that the "secret" of the secret well, on the evidence of this coin concealed in the crack between the false bottom and the front wall of the hutch, must have been lost since the end of the thirteenth century; or, in other words, the well had not been opened and emptied of its contents since that remote date! The ingenious method by which its secret is guarded is worth notice, and can best be understood by reference to the accompanying drawing. By way of comparison, it may be noted that the false bottom of the hutch at Long Stanton St. Michael, Cambs., tilts in much the same way, and is also secured by a concealed pin at the back. That at Stoke d'Abernon draws out with a finger-groove. See also the description of the chest at Newport, Essex, *supra*.

SUSSEX. *BUXTED. (Plate VII.)

This chest and that at Ditchling in the same county (Fig. 20) resemble the remarkable early chest at Wintringham, Norfolk (Fig. 5), in one respect, namely, that the end rails which lift with the lid, instead of being affixed to the underside, as in the other pin-hinge examples, form a sort of shaped cresting, rising above the lid and having the lid, which itself is of a ridged or curved section, *en dos d'âne*, framed into them. The effect is singular and picturesque. The date may be placed at about 1260,² judging by the character of the ornamentation, which, besides a number of irregularly carved rosettes or roundels of the star or flower pattern (octofoiled,

¹ The connection of Bosham with the port of Waterford in Ireland is not so remote as might seem at first sight. Both are Danish settlements. Canute's daughter is buried in Bosham church, where her coffin was discovered in 1861, and it is quite likely that the bold fisher-

men and traders of Bosham had kept up through two or three centuries commerce and intercourse with their Irish cousins.

² To which date the handsome nave arcades and other features belong.

instead of sexfoiled, as in the earlier chests).¹ has a row of pointed arches, trefoiled in the central body beneath the lid, and hanging in the air, so to speak, that is to say, with no shafts under them. Similar, but larger, trefoiled arches are carved on the feet of the standards. The coped lid is heavily constructed, with a moulded edge, and the ridge in the centre is formed into a sort of shaft, or triple roll moulding, with capital and base, lying on its back, parallel to the front of the chest. The plain panels of the ends are made to slope inwards, as in the Godalming and some other examples, being held in position by a cross rail. There is a sinking for one lock only, in the centre of the chest, cut through the middle of the five arches in a very clumsy fashion. This chest is large and bulky, much taller than those of the earlier pin-hinge group.

SUSSEX. *CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL (Plate VIII and Figs. 7 and 15, 16.)

There are several most interesting chests here. One, which is well known, is the long narrow chest standing on trestles on the floor of the north-west tower, possibly not older than the fourteenth century, and intended perhaps as the receptacle for the bishop's pastoral staff.² Another is the very handsome early sixteenth-century chest in the chapter room, which my friends, Dr. Codrington and Prebendary Bennett, identify with the chest specially made by bishop Sherburne, a man of precise and methodical ways, for the reception, unfolded, of the parchments dealing with the possessions of the see.³ We are not, how-

¹ Some are concave and some convex, and one on the right is only a half circle.

² Length 8 feet 7 inches, height 15 inches, width 15½ inches: illustrated in the *Architectural Association Sketch Book*, ii.

³ As a matter of general archaeological interest I append the quotation, as kindly supplied by Prebendary F. G. Bennett, from Bishop Sherburne's *Statutes*:—

"Also, because (the Philosopher being witness) all things are corrupted and become decayed in time, to the end

and effect that our muniments may not, so far as we can prevent it, perish in course of time, we ordain and will that our original purchases, with their indentures, terriers, lettngs, obligations and rentals, be, by the order of Mr. Dean and the Chapter, first transcribed into a clean, well bound book on paper, and then, within two years at the most, into a parchment book, strongly bound with choice, thick and close-grained boards; and that the originals of the old purchases be placed in our Treasury in strong oaken boxes, without being folded or rolled up; but let the

ever, concerned with either of these, but with two chests of thirteenth-century date. One, shown in Plate VIII, No. 1, is a beautiful little portable coffer,

Note. Iron boss in centre of rose. One rose at either end and one in centre, all alike. Traces of red colour

*Chichester Coll^y
13th Cent. Chest
in Chapter-house*

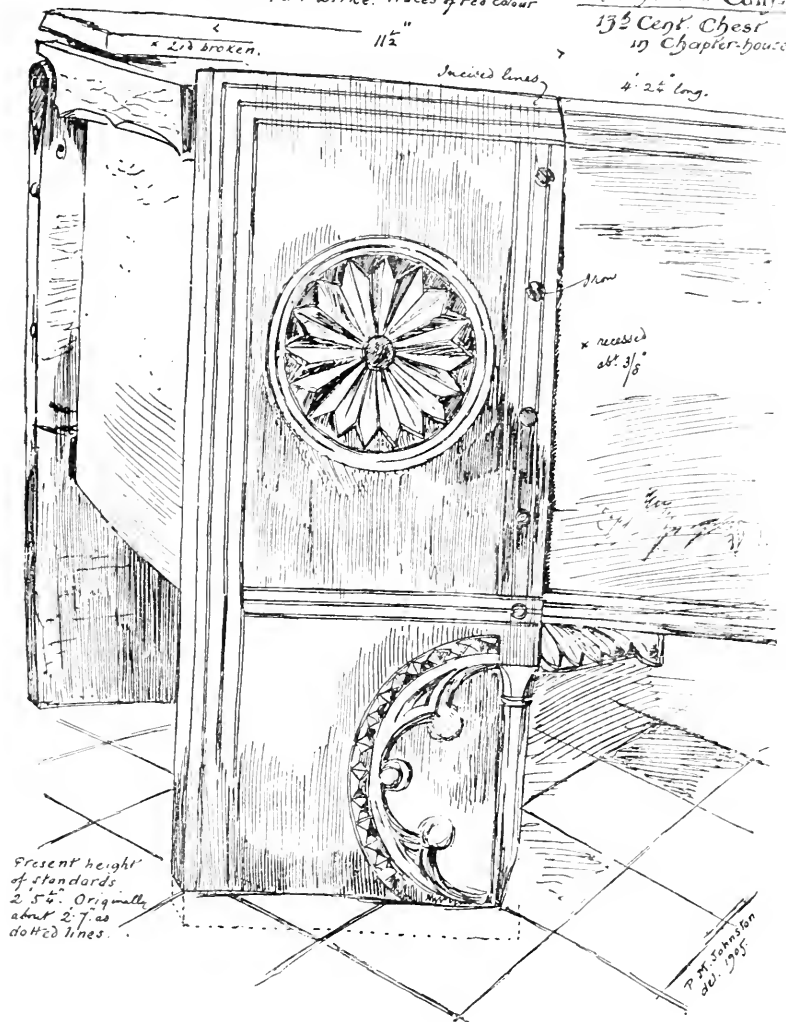


FIG. 15.

boxes be of such dimensions that the muniments may be altogether free from being cracked and rolled together We ordain furthermore and will that after the annual Comptours the boxes be immediately opened and the muniments

be turned with careful examination, lest anything should perish by the boxes becoming old, or by the eating of worms, or in any other way. And this matter we commit to the Prebendaries ordained by us with the Sub-Treasurer."

with the rings for carrying remaining on one of the elaborately panelled ends. It was in a most dilapidated state, the lid and parts of the sides having altogether disappeared, and several of the iron straps lying loose inside. These latter are of the type described above under West Horsley, *i.e.*, they have reeded straps and rosettes at the flattened-out ends. The stop-chamfering of the framed ends is very pretty and elaborate.



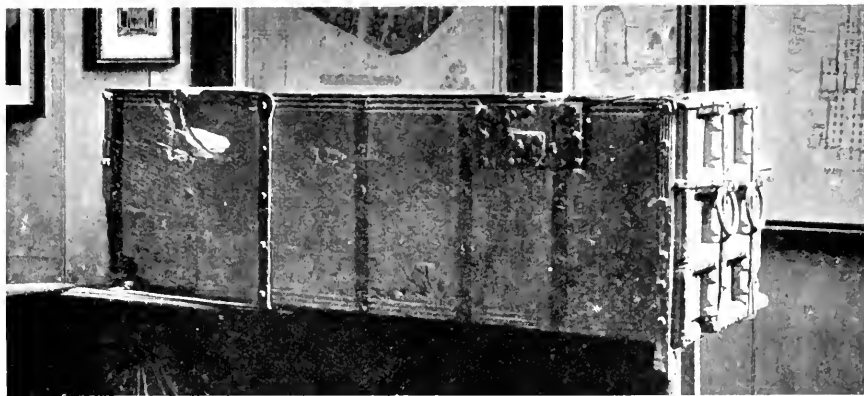
Under the writer's supervision this chest has lately been just sufficiently repaired to make it hold together, and the loose straps have been re-fixed. The original method of raising the body of the chest above the floor can still be seen, in the shape of short iron feet (A), which form the end of the ornamental irons on the front, and are secured also by an angle piece

(B) to the bottom.

The other chest is of more especial interest to us on account of its likeness to that at Stoke d'Abernion. I have illustrated it in Figs. 7, 15, and 16 and Plate VIII, No. 2. Its length is 4 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, 2 feet 2 inches; and present height, 2 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. I have indicated on Fig. 15 that its original height was probably about 2 feet 7 inches. It also is in a bad state of repair, and, as will be seen by the plan (Fig. 7), its top is broken.¹ I have shown the little hutch on this, and with its prettily-shaped lid it at once recalls the same feature in the Long Stanton and Bosham chests, above described. The way in which the lifting-rail attached to the main lid works in a mortice in the front standards is plainly shown on this plan, also the wedge-shape of the standards, indicating that they are cleft, not sawn. On Fig. 16 the pear- or kite-shaped piece of iron covering the pin-hinge, the chamfering of the lifting-rail, and the shaped feet of the back standards are shown; also the construction of the bottom and side.

¹ This chest also has been carefully repaired within the last year under the writer's superintendence, and the missing bottom and half of the lid have been replaced. The spray of the foliage corresponding to that shown in the

illustration had "disappeared" only a little while before this repair was carried out. Something is also to be done in the cases of two other ancient chests in this county as the result of suggestions made by the writer.



CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL, SUSSEX.
No. 1.—Thirteenth century portable coffer on iron feet.



CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL, SUSSEX.
No. 2.—Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200.

The shaped feet resemble those at Heckfield and Cound, both of late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century date; and I think we may safely ascribe this chest to about A.D. 1200. Its ornamentation is very interesting (see Fig. 15). Incised lines are carried as a border round the central body and standards, and in the centre and on either standard are marigolds or stars of V section within a circular border. The centre of

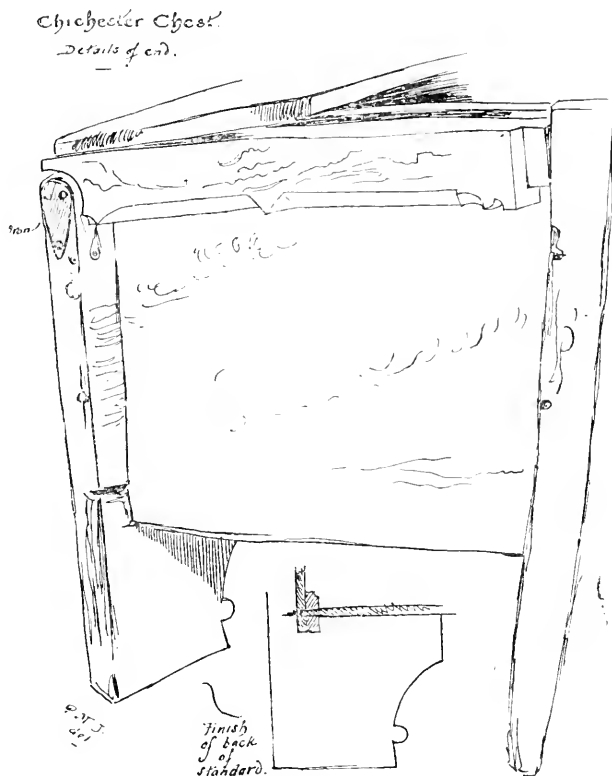
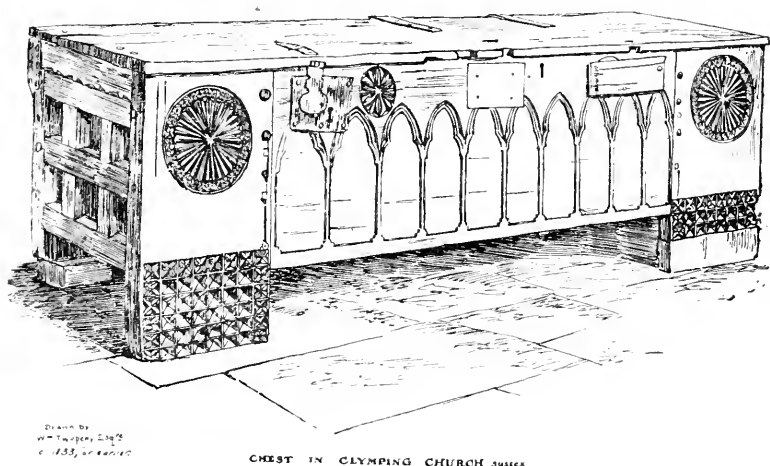


FIG. 16.

each is marked by an iron stud with a circular convex head, similar to the rivets before noticed, a row of which secures the mortice and tenon joint of the body and standards. The feet of the front standards have a demi-quatrefoil, with circular bosses or cusps, within a border of nail-head ornament, such as is found in stone throughout the twelfth century, and in one or

two examples of woodwork early in the thirteenth.¹ On the angle is worked an octagonal shaft, also resembling the stone forms of the latter part of the twelfth century, and in the angle between this and the body of the chest is a very singular piece of ornament, attached by a pin or pins to the main construction. It consists of a spray of foliage, curiously resembling some cusp terminations on an early thirteenth-century wall-tomb in Freshwater church, Isle of Wight. It and other parts of the sunk ornamentation of this chest show plain traces of red ochre colouring. A fragment of one of the original chains for attaching to a wall remains on the back.



CHEST IN CLYMPING CHURCH SUSSEX

FIG. 17.

SUSSEX. *CLYMPING. (Plates IX, XIII and XIV, and Figs. 7, 17, 18, and 19.)

Date c. 1230. This is both the best-known and the finest chest of the Surrey-Sussex group, and, standing as it does in an exceptionally complete and beautiful Early English church, it is in singular harmony with its surroundings. When I first knew it, thirty-two years ago, it stood in the chancel: now it rests upon the floor of a little vestry that has been screened off

¹ As in a wall-plate at Upmarden church, Sussex (near Chichester), illustrated in Rickman's *Gothic Archi-*

lecture, 7th ed., 145. This example is there approximately dated 1220.

from the end of the south aisle. We are fortunate in possessing, from the pencil of the late Mr. William Twopenny, a minutely accurate drawing of this chest

Clymping

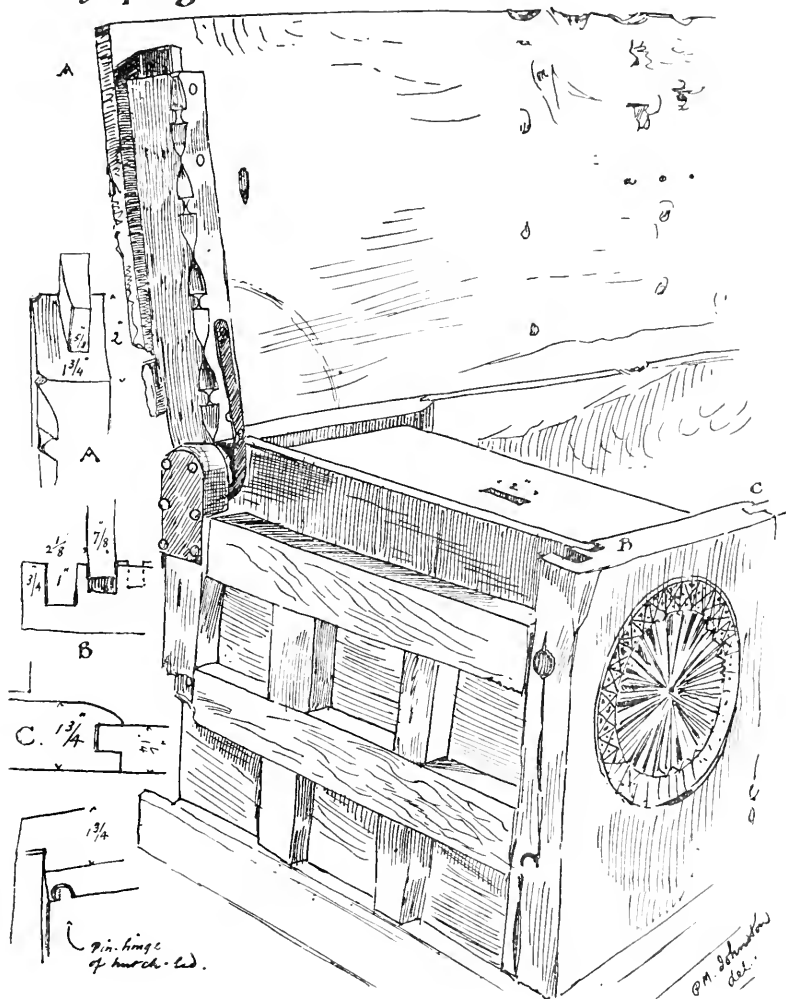


FIG. 18.

as it appeared in 1836, from which my illustration (Fig. 17) has been traced. When perfect, with its roundels, the arcaded front, and carved feet of dog's-tooth and honey-comb work, it must have been a very

beautiful object. But, alas ! it has suffered more than most of these chests from neglect and wanton ill-usage. It appears to have been sent, a long while ago, to an exhibition of ecclesiastical furniture, and to have been returned *minus* its carved feet and co-eval lock, the latter being replaced by a brand new one of brass. The resulting evil is that, besides the loss to its appearance, the chest now stands literally on the floor, doubly a prey to damp and decay. Well might it say, "Save me from my friends !"

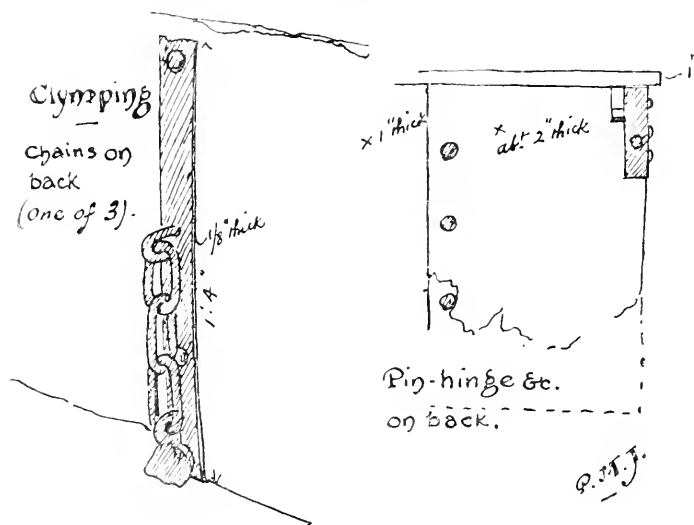


FIG. 19.

The length is 6 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; width, 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; and height (originally) about 2 feet 3 inches. The pin-hinges are protected by a nail-studded iron covering, rectangular in shape, with a rounded top, an advance upon the more easily removed pear- or kite-shaped piece of the other chests, such as Stoke d'Abernou (see Fig. 11). There is also a development in the provision of a constructional top rail to the framing of the ends, in *addition* to the lifting-rail attached to the lid. The latter has some pretty stop-chamfering (Fig. 7. Cf. Rustington, Fig. 23). The styles and rails of the framework are halved together, as at Stoke d'Abernou and elsewhere,

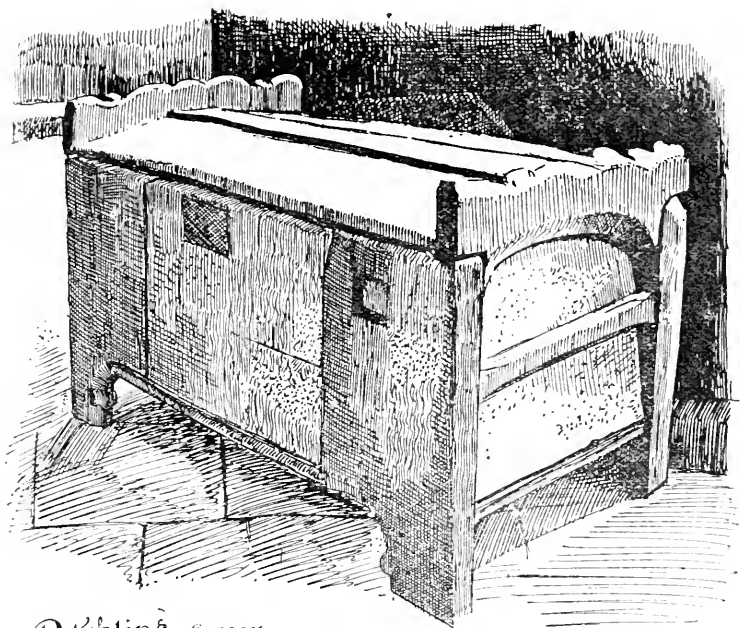
and the ends of the rails are secured by round-headed nails to the standards, which are $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches thick in front and rather more at the back. The same iron rivets, together with the peculiar square-headed oak pins, will be seen in Mr. Twopenny's drawing and my reduced rubbings of the chest front (Plates XIII and XIV). As shown in Fig. 19, there are chains on the back for attaching to a wall. Besides the large roundels on the standards, there are smaller ones of the familiar star (or six-leaved flower) and spiral patterns upon the front, and the positions of the original locks, which would partially cover one of them and a portion of the arcading, suggest that, wherever the chests were made, the locks were fitted to them in the church. The trefoil arches are moulded with a double bead (see Plate XIV), the space within being recessed about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch; and their shafts, which have no capitals, rise from slightly stepped bases, now hidden by a common piece of deal skirting. The large roundels are of a plain-rayed pattern, enclosed within a zigzag border in the right, and one of a star pattern in the left hand. The honey-comb and dog's-tooth work of the feet is specially interesting, and unique, so far as I am aware. There is a money-slit on the left-hand of the lid and a very perfect hutch, with pin-hinge lid, within the chest below, also provided with a money-slit, but having no secret well beneath.

SUSSEX. *DITCHLING. (Fig. 20.)

There is no ironwork about this chest, which, as will be seen by the illustration, compares closely with the Buxted example (Plate VII) in regard to the construction of the lid with its heavy-shaped wings, or hinge-rails, and the inclined ends. The feet of the standards are cut to a pattern found in the Chichester and other chests. The hinge-rails revolve upon a peg. Inside, on the left are the grooves in which originally the framework of a small money-box was fixed. The length of the chest is 2 feet 11 inches; its width, 1 foot 9 inches; and the height 2 feet.

SUSSEX. *FELPHAM. (Plates IX and XII, and Fig. 14.)

A comparison of this chest, with that at Stoke d'Abernon will show at a glance that they are extra-



Ditchling, Sussex.

FIG. 29.

ordinarily alike, and that both resemble closely the longer chest at Midhurst. This general resemblance is amply borne out in the smaller details, as is attested by comparing the rubbings of the roundels on Plates XII and XV, where the identical patterns, the spiral, interlaced triangles, and six-pointed star or flower, occur in each. It will be seen that the right- and left-hand roundels at Felpham and Stoke d'Abernon are of the same size, and that even the number of the spirals (24) and zig-zags (10) in both the left-hand patterns is the same. The hutch in all three is on the left side. The Felpham chest is about 4 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 7½ inches wide, and has a present height of 1 foot 8 inches (originally, perhaps, 2 feet 4 inches). The framework of the ends has chamfered styles and rails of the same character as in the South Bersted chest. The lid is comparatively modern, and a piece of oak has been let into the front with new locks in it, but

two of the original lock-plates remain, one having a curiously-shaped keyhole, cut to fit the wards of the key, a detail I have noticed in one of the Westminster chests, and at Charlwood, Chobham, and Stoke d'Abernou. The hutch here has no money-slit, beneath

Midhurst

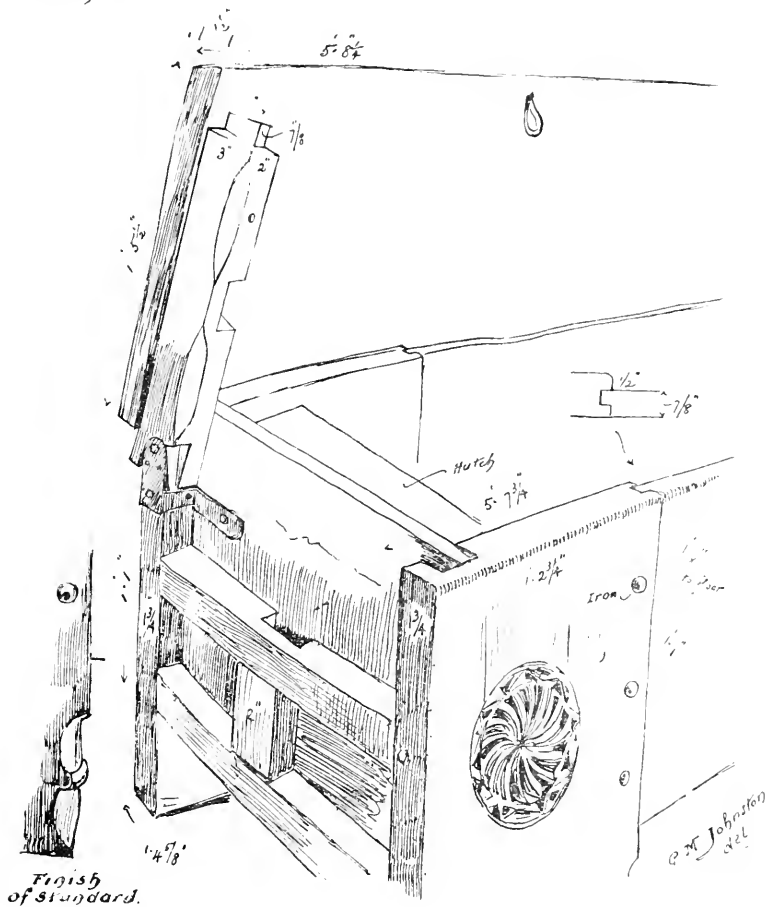


FIG. 21.

it is a very perfect secret well identical in mechanism with that at Bosham. The back of the chest, like the front, in all these cases, is in three pieces, mortised and tenoned together. The sides slope inwards excessively. It should be noticed that Clymping, South

Bersted, Felpham, Chichester and Bosham, are all within a distance of about ten miles, and close to, or upon, the sea coast.

SUSSEX. FITTLEWORTH.

I am informed by the Rev. A. H. Simpson that two chests are preserved in the rectory, which may both be of this period.

SUSSEX. *HORSHAM.

There is a plain, solid oak chest here, 3 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 1 foot 10 inches broad, and 2 feet high; with a massive lid, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. Its date is probably early thirteenth century.

SUSSEX. *MIDHURST. (Plates IX and XV, and Fig. 21.)

Here, unlike the cases quoted above, the chest is found in a church remote from the sea. The dimensions are: length, 5 feet $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; total height only 1 foot 8 inches, perhaps slightly more originally. There is only one lock-plate, and that, probably, not the original. The framework of the ends is square-edged, and there are rivets with large and prominent heads at the junction of the central body and standards. The latter have the sort of pilaster ornament found at Stoke d'Abernon and Bosham. Beneath the money-hutch is a secret well.

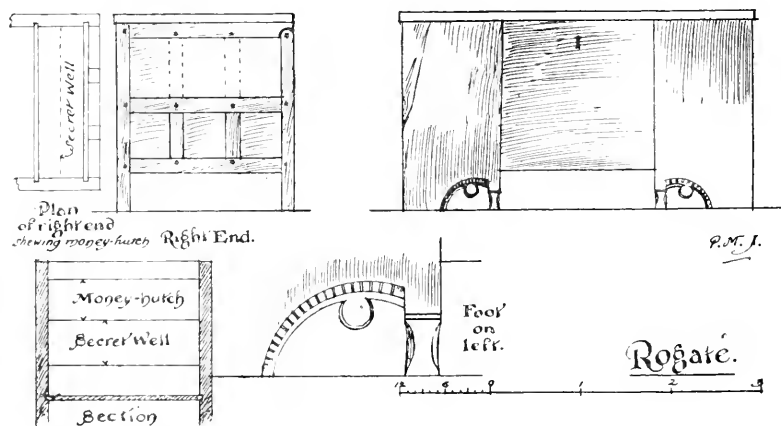


FIG. 22.



Left side and end.

CLYMPING, SUSSEX.

Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1230.

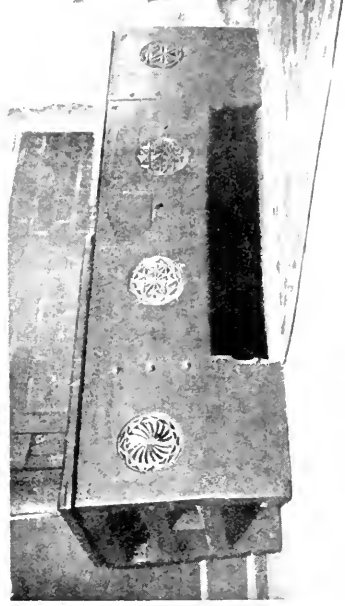
Right side.



Left side and end.

FELPHAM, SUSSEX.

Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200-1220.



Right side.

MIDHURST, SUSSEX.

Pin-hinged chest, date *circa* 1200-1220.

SUSSEX. ROGATE. (Fig. 22.)

A small plain example, resembling that at Godalming. It is of oak, painted brown, and is 3 feet 10½ inches long, 1 foot 11½ inches wide and 2 feet 1 inch high, exclusive of modern lid: with plain applied framework to the ends, as at Godalming. The lid originally worked on a pin-hinge, and the front standards are almost exactly similar to those at Godalming in respect of the pierced quadrant and its square "leg." There is a money-tray on the right, with a secret cavity beneath it. Date c. 1200-1220.

Rustington Ch. Sussex

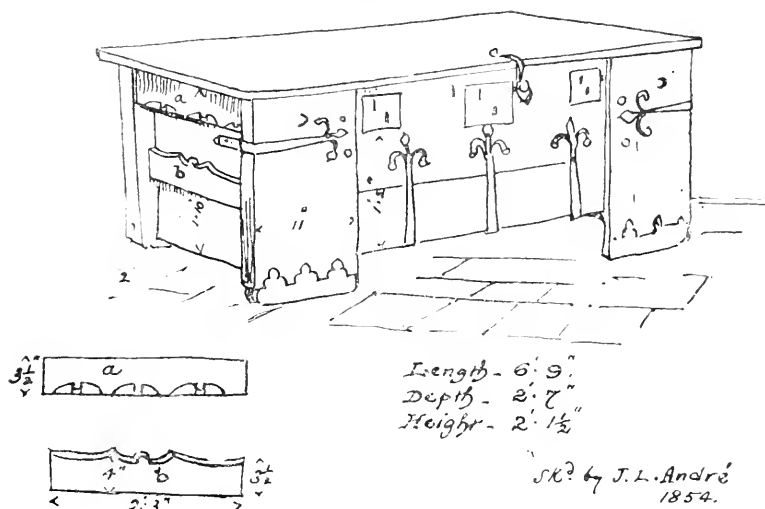


FIG. 23.

SUSSEX. *RUSTINGTON. (Fig. 23.)


This chest "disappeared" about the time of the restoration of the church in 1857. I am therefore doubly happy in possessing a sketch of it, made in 1854, by my late friend, Mr. J. L. André. Its length is there given as 6 feet 9 inches; width, 2 feet 7 inches; and height, 2 feet 1½ inches. The chamfered and shaped rails on the side are noteworthy. The resemblance between the upper one and that at Clymping has before been remarked on. The three

locks, the pretty strap-hinges, with foliated ends, and the small trefoil arches in the standard feet, are other interesting details. I should assign the date of about 1230 to this example. The scrolled ends of the straps are like those on one of the Westminster chests.

SUSSEX. WILLINGDON.

There is an ancient chest here, probably of thirteenth-century date, of which the vicar, the Rev. O. L. Tudor, has most kindly sent me an admirable sketch and a very full description. The chest has a panelled lid, comparatively modern, opening in two pieces, probably an original arrangement. The measurements are: length, 5 feet 10 inches; breadth, 2 feet 9 inches; height, 2 feet 7 inches. Originally there were three locks, two of which, with their wrought-iron plates and hasps, remain, the place of the central one being indicated by a hole in the wood. The chest is constructed with standards to front *and sides* (a very unusual feature this last), top and bottom rails, and, in front and back, an upright style, forming two panels. These and the single panel of the sides are filled with chequerwork, formed of small posts and rails halved together, exactly corresponding with the ends of the Clymping chest (Figs. 7 and 18). Short, ornamental wrought-iron straps strengthen the angles and joints of the main framework. The interior is divided into two by a partition, corresponding with the division in the lid, and probably, as in the case of the lid an original feature, as it is found in one of the Westminster chests. This suggests that the chest served for two purposes, such as storing plate and muniments or vestments. I can find no indications of pin-hinges. This seems in all likelihood a thirteenth-century chest.

SUSSEX. WORTH.

Not the least interesting among the many remarkable features of this well-known church is the rude chest in the south transept. The ends are prolonged some 6 inches, so as to lift the body off the ground. They are formed of a stout broad slab of oak and have a -shaped opening cut through at the bottom (*cf.* Rowington, Warwickshire). The angles are clamped

with plain iron straps and other similar straps are carried underneath the body and up the front. There is one padlock of comparatively modern character and two hasp-locks, probably co-eval with the chest. A small ring for transporting remains on each end. Inside is a hutch or box, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, extending to the bottom. By the kindness of the rector of Worth, I am enabled to give the following dimensions : length, 4 feet 1 inch ; width, at top, 1 foot $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; at bottom, 1 foot 6 inches. The lid is somewhat steeply coped.

WARWICKSHIRE. BADDESLEY CLINTON.

There is a chest here made of massive oak slabs, bound together with iron straps having foliated ends, the whole of thirteenth-century character.

WARWICKSHIRE. COVENTRY. ST. MARY'S HALL.

Colonel Hart records a thirteenth-century chest as preserved here.

WARWICKSHIRE. ROWINGTON.

Figured in Colonel Hart's paper.¹ He says, after assigning to the chest a thirteenth-century date, "The body of the chest tapers, and is made of solid slabs roughly hewn. It has three locks of the same date, evidently co-eval with the woodwork. The plates have each two vertical bands, enriched with chased lines. The hinges and bands clamping the work together have trefoil ends, and are remarkable for being let into the woodwork the whole thickness of the iron." The body stands upon raised feet "end on," and is itself built to



slope forwards in this fashion. The angles of lid and body are ornamented with a sort of scooped-out pattern, resembling the ornamental chamfering at Clymping and in other chests of the pin-hinge group.

WARWICKSHIRE. RUGBY.

Also figured in Colonel Hart's paper.² It is of oak, and consists of a central body and end standards, the latter mounted upon four discs or wheels of wood, which, if they belong to the original construction, as appears probable, no doubt served to convey the chest

¹ *Transactions of the Birmingham and Midland Institute*, xx, 74.

² *Ibid.*, 73.

from one part of the church to another, or even to same distance outside. It also has chains attached to either end, with rings which may have been used to pass a pole through in transporting. The central body is covered with somewhat elaborate iron scrolled bands with *fleur-de-lys* terminations and C-shaped pieces, of early character, and there are straps round the angles. In the centre is a large lock-plate which, besides the ordinary lock, bears a staple to which a hasp and padlock are attached; and to the right and left are other hasps and padlocks. All three would appear to be original fittings. Altogether this is a very valuable example of the first half of the thirteenth century.

WARWICKSHIRE. TANWORTH.

This chest is no less than 8 feet 3 inches long and consists of a central body with narrow end standards. The front is ornamented with six handsome vertical scrolled straps, and plain straps, disposed horizontally, clasp the angles. There are three original locks. The ornamental straps of the front have a rounded section, the ends of the centre scrolls being beaten out to the shape of a cross. The scrolls have eyes punched in them for nails, and they are further secured to the chest by cramps. A good drawing of this chest accompanies Colonel Hart's description.¹

WARWICKSHIRE. WIXFORD.

Colonel Hart records the existence of a thirteenth-century chest here, "kept in a hut in the churchyard, and containing the sexton's professional implements, which has two locks and iron bands with *fleur-de-lys* ends." There are, he adds, "columns in the end pieces of the front, formed by cutting a quadrant out of the bottom." Cf. Chichester, Banbury and Westminster.

WARWICKSHIRE. WOOTEN WAWEN.

This is a very handsome chest, and its date is probably about 1200. It is illustrated by a good photograph, lent by the Warwickshire Photographic Survey, in Colonel Hart's monograph, and this has been reproduced in *English Church Furniture*.² The chest is

¹ *Transactions of the Birmingham and Midland Institute*, xx.

² 306.

constructed of a central body, covered with handsome iron scrollwork on the front, and end standards prolonged into feet shaped on the inner edge like those at Heckfield.

WILTSHIRE. *SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. (Fig. 24 and Plate X.)

In his *Architectural Drawings* the late Mr. W. Burges refers to this chest, one of a number preserved in the cathedral. As will be seen from Fig. 24, it is a plain edition of the Chichester chest, and also greatly

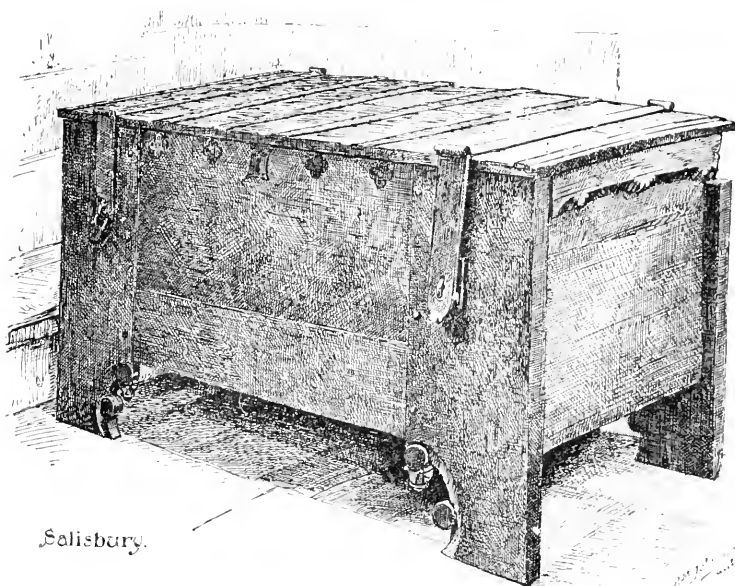


FIG. 24.

resembles one of those at Westminster Abbey. The dimensions are: length 6 feet, width 2 feet 7 inches, and height 2 feet 9 inches. The pin-hinge, some little plates of iron in a quatrefoil shape on the front (connected with the original long bolt of the lock), the elaborately stop-chamfered lifting-rail and the curious ornamentation of the feet of the standards are remarkable features. The last-named resembles the semi-circular ornament in the same position at Chichester cathedral and Westminster, but instead of a little column, answering to the string of the bow, there is a

pendant, and a circular boss projects from the back of the curve. The lid is not original, but the great hasps for padlocks appear to be. I am not aware whether there is a hutch for money inside. Of the other ancient chests, one is a thirteenth century cope-chest of great beauty and interest, also drawn by Mr. Burges: another, very massive and strongly bound with iron; has no less than three locks and four padlocks (Plate X, No. 1). This *may* be thirteenth century, but there is no certain evidence. Yet another, of oak, crossed with innumerable iron bands and straps, some with scrolled ends, and curious ornamental rivet heads, is certainly of early thirteenth-century date (Plate X, No. 2). It retains its three original iron locks, and is altogether a very noteworthy example.

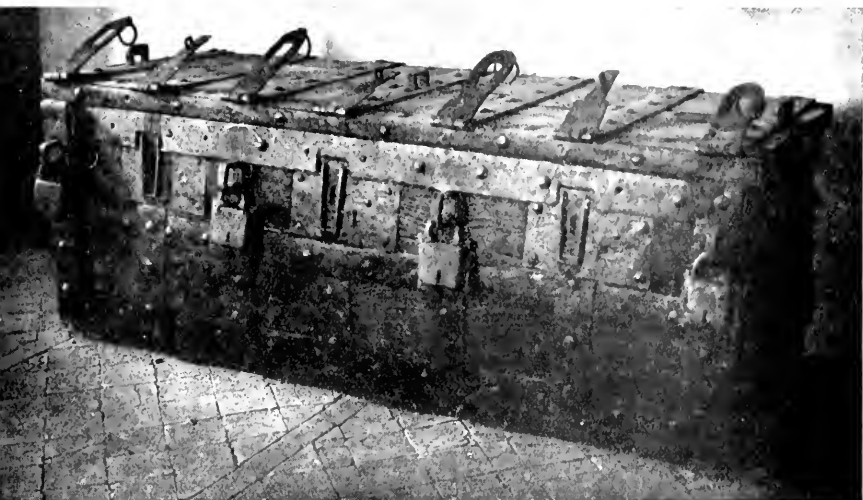
YORKSHIRE. *SALTON-IN-RYEDALE.¹

This is a chest of the pin-hinge class, though the present lid is hinged in the ordinary way. Length 4 feet 9 inches, width 2 feet 7 inches, and height 2 feet 6 inches. It retains six iron scroll-straps, exactly like those on the body of the Rustington chest; also two little cinquefoils of iron like the similar quatrefoils at Salisbury, under the top edge of the front, which had to do with the locking arrangement, as in the foregoing and other examples. The feet of the standards are cut into a shape resembling those at Westminster and Salisbury. The treatment of the ends resembles that at Rustington. I cannot find that there was a money-tray in this instance.

Of the objects for which chests in all ages were made, nothing need here be said, but I propose now to sum up as briefly as possible the various uses to which the church chests which we have been considering were put, and for which, in most cases, they were probably specially constructed.

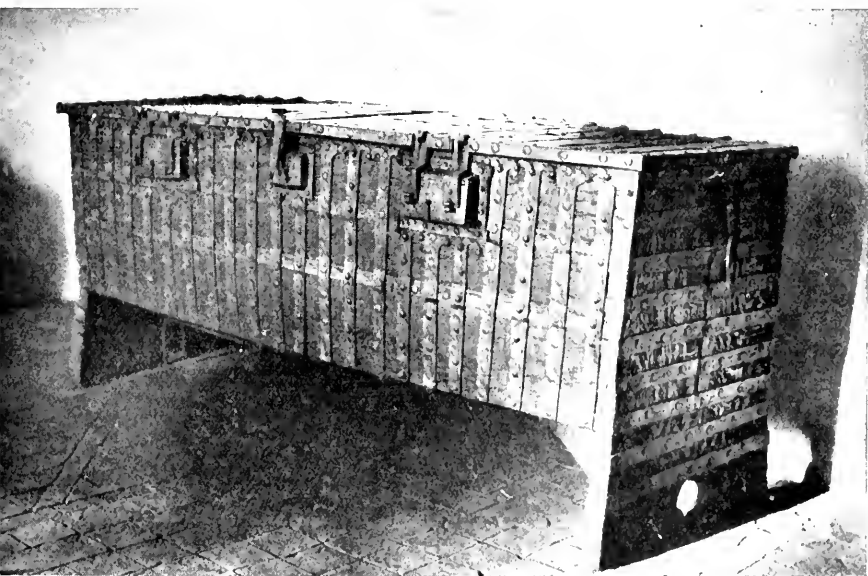
At the commencement of this paper I have alluded to the enumeration of the church-chests by archbishop Ælfrie (995-1005) as among the sacred things of the church. No doubt, in bringing it into use in their buildings the

¹ Illustrated in the *Assoc. Archit. Societies' Reports*, 1880, p. 224.



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, WILTS.

No. 1.—Iron-bound treasure chest, probably thirteenth century.



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, WILTS.

No. 2.— Early thirteenth century iron-bound chest.

Christians of the early centuries were influenced by the frequent mention in the Scriptures of this article of furniture, or of something corresponding to it in connection with the Jewish Temple. It is recorded, for example, that when King Jehoash and Jehoida the priest set about repairing the breaches in the house of the Lord, that

“Jehoida the priest took a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar, on the right side as one cometh into the house of the Lord: and the priests that kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of the Lord . . . and they laid it out to the carpenters and builders that wrought upon the house of the Lord, and to masons, and hewers of stone, and to buy timber and hewed stone to repair the breaches of the house of the Lord, and for all that was laid out for the house to repair it.”¹

The incident of “the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury,” and the poor widow who cast her two mites in thither, recorded in the Gospels, may be cited as evidence of the established use of this offertory chest in our Lord’s time.

1. The provision of a chest or strong box for a similar purpose, the maintenance of the sacred fabric, would therefore be a fitting and obvious thing in the Christian Church from the earliest times; and in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, covering the period from A.D. 1173 to 1202, we learn that one Warin, a monk, and the keeper of the shrine of St. Edmund, and Sampson, the sub-sacrist, made a certain hollow trunk, with a hole in the middle or at the top, and fastened with an iron lock; this they caused to be set up in the great church, near the door without the choir in the way of the people, so that therein persons should put their contributions for the building of the tower.²

It is a safe assumption that many of the chests above described served at the outset as offertory chests for the collection of funds in aid of the church, aisle, chancel or other part of the building that was being put up, and when the work was done the chest would be retained for general uses. There is every likelihood that the tradition at Westminster Abbey with regard to some of the fine

¹ II Kings xii.

² *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, p. 7: Camden Society.

chests in the triforium is correct, namely, that they were made for workmen's pay chests.

2. There is abundant evidence for the church chest having been used as a place of deposit for the sacred vessels, vestments and books. Among the earliest references to it in this connection is that at the Synod of Exeter in 1287, where the provision of a chest for the safe custody of the books and vestments of the church, *cistam ad libros et vestimenta*, is laid down. We have evidence to warrant the assumption that most chantry chapels were furnished with a chest standing somewhere near the altar, in which the priest who served the chantry kept his vestments, books and plate. Thus in the Inventory of goods belonging to St. Mary's, Warwick, A.D. 1464, we read

"It: in the Vestrye i gret olde arke to put in vestymnts etc.

"It: in the Sextry above the Vestrye, i olde arke at the auters ende, i olde coofre irebonde having a long lok of the olde facion, and i lasse new coofre having iii loks called the tresory cofre and certeyn almaries."

Also

"It: in the house afore the Chapter hous i old irebounde cofre having hie feet and rings of iron in the endes thereof to heve it bye. And therein both certain bokes belonging to the Chapter."¹

Five ironbound chests, one a money chest, and three "great old arks" for vestments are enumerated in this Inventory.

As to the chantry chest, we have in the will of Richard Brekeley, rector of Kirk Smeaton, under date 1507.

"To the Chauntre at Branburgh where Sir Richard Mynes servys, my long iron bonden kyrst, for to kepe y^e chales, y^e vestments, and y^e evydence belongyng to y^e said chauntre; and it for to be divided in too: and oon parte to have ij lokes for y^e evydence; and y^e keyes to be in keyyng os y^e composicion shewes. I gyff to y^e servys whilke I have ordenyt to be at Smeton, os is aforesaid, my cowntyr in my chamber, for to kepe y^e evydence thereto belongyng and other ornamentes."²

¹ The graphic description brings before us the very image of the "irebounde cofre" at Salisbury, with its "hie feet" and "rings of iron in the endes."

² I have ventured to cite these two interesting references to chests from Colonel Hart's paper referred to above.

Two wills in connection with Faversham church, Kent,¹ make mention of chests to be used as receptacles for vestments, altar cloths, plate, etc. One, that of Thomas Reade, 1505, directs that

"The two altar cloths of arras, a vestment of purple damask, with all the parell, a chalice of silver and parcel gilt, and all other cloths with appurtenances in a chest standing in the Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, shall remain to the said Altar of the Chapel for evermore, and the key of the chest and stuff remain and abide in the custody of Robert Withiot and Robert Deve and of their assignes to the use abovesaid, and none otherwise."

In another, Henry Hatche, in 1533, leaves

"to the Church my chest bound with iron, the which I bought of Henry Estey of London, to put in the towels and plate of the Church."

3. In many cases chests must have been used, and even expressly made, for keeping relics of saints in. The Newport chest, above described, may have had this for one of its uses; while in Winchester cathedral we have the wonderful painted lid of a thirteenth-century chest given for this particular purpose.²

4. Some, at least, of our remaining ancient chests may have been used for the contributions to parochial guilds, brotherhoods and the like.

5. Perhaps the most obvious and clearly established use was that of the "poor men's box," which, as an institution, doubtless dates from long before the Reformation, but which is specifically ordered to be provided by the eighty-fourth Canon of 1603. In the rubric in the Communion Office of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., the term "box" is used, which would seem at first sight to apply to one of those boxes on pillars or brackets of wood, such as still remain in many cases in our churches, some of pre-Reformation date, usually found affixed to a wall or pier. But in the later Canon a chest is unmistakably described. The churchwardens, it says, are to provide "a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof," and it is to have three keys, one for the vicar and one each for the wardens. The parson is directed that it is his duty to keep the

¹ An invaluable contribution to ecclesiology, published in *Testamenta Cantiana*, by L. L. Duncan, F.S.A.

² The much later (sixteenth century)

relic-chests, still standing on bishop Fox's screens in the choir of Winchester cathedral, are interesting survivals of a far older class.

chest as full as possible by moving the people to contribute, "especially when men make their testaments."

No doubt many chests which, under the old ritual, had been applied to the purpose of keeping the church plate and vestments, would, in obedience to this Canon, be used to collect alms for the poor, but the allusion in the Prayer-book of 1549, implies that the "poor men's box" was already a recognised institution, and we may safely assume that many of the chests I have described served partly or wholly for this very laudable purpose.

6. The last class to which I have to refer is in some ways the most interesting.

Henry II., in A.D. 1166, issued a mandate for the collection of contributions towards the defence and assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land, and enjoined that a coffer, *truncus*, should be placed in every church. This coffer was to have three keys, one to be kept by the priest, and the others by the most trustworthy of the parishioners.

"Et erit truncus in ecclesia episcopali, et per singulas villas in ecclesiis . . . Truncus vero habebit tres claves, quarum unam custodi et Presbyter duas fideiores viri de parochia."¹

Thirty-four years later, in 1200, Pope Innocent III. issued a general mandate for the setting up of these offertory chests in the churches of England and the other countries of Europe. This mandate, addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the various provinces and dioceses, contains the following very precise directions:

"To this end we command that in every church there shall be placed a hollow trunk, fastened with three keys, the first to be kept by the bishop, the second by the priest of the church, and the third by some religious layman; and that the faithful shall be exhorted to deposit in it, according as God shall move their hearts, their alms for the remission of their sins; and that once in the week in all churches mass shall be publicly sung for the remission of sins, and especially of those who shall thus contribute."

These alms were for the express object of providing means for the benefit of the Holy Land. If either or both of these mandates were literally obeyed, as to which there can be little doubt, we are faced with the fact that for this one purpose, in England alone, some thousands of chests must have been specially constructed and placed

¹ *Chronica Gervasii. An. Græ. 1166.*

in the cathedral and parochial churches between 1166 and the first few years of the thirteenth century, and it is to this, as I conceive, that we owe the somewhat remarkable fact of the survival of such an exceptional number of early chests throughout the land. It would be interesting to know if chests of this period survive to anything like the same extent in Continental countries. Mr. Roe's book¹ records several French examples, and one in the museum at Ypres, Belgium, the latter and at least one other, in the Cluny museum, having the pin-hinge.

On the whole, therefore, I incline to the belief that the greater number of these early chests in England, including most of the pin-hinge group, were made specifically for the collection of alms for the Crusades. The evidence of the drawings, photographs, and rubbings of roundels, with which this paper is illustrated, irresistibly proves that a great proportion of them were made at the same time and probably by the same guild of chest-makers, and this alone would point to some special purpose having arisen to bring them into existence.

One obvious conclusion to which we can safely come is that large numbers of these chests were made at some central place or places and distributed broad-cast from thence. This would account for chests in churches so far apart as Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex bearing so close a resemblance to one another, particularly in the patterns of their roundels. This is very noticeable in the reproductions from rubbings among the accompanying illustrations.

As to the patterns of these roundels, I have elsewhere suggested that there is a good deal of conscious or unconscious symbolism in the designs employed and so constantly repeated. They do not represent the chance fancy of the craftsman. The spiral, or whorl, the six-petalled flower, or six-rayed star, and the interlaced triangle had some definite meaning, although the workman who carved them may have got it only at second-hand. The fact that the three designs are

¹ *Ancient Coffers and Cupboards.*

repeated so many times in conjunction would alone suggest this.

Apart from any theory of symbolism, it is a plain fact that these geometrical roundels have a pedigree of hoary antiquity. They may be seen as sun-wheels on the baked clay and stone tablets of Babylon,¹ and there is no doubt that they owe their original evolution to sun-worship, which would account for the idea being so wide-spread and continually cropping out among all races and in every age. The six-rayed star, or marigold, and the whorl are found in pre-Christian Scandinavian memorials of the dead, and can be traced to an Aryan origin of much older date.

Coming to Christian art, it was natural that the old patterns, eminently suited for chip-carving in wood or shallow chiselling in stone, should be continued under the new faith. No doubt they were invested with a symbolism appropriate to the changed religious beliefs.² Such patterns were familiar by tradition and use to the Norman craftsmen. We find them in wood, lead and stone-work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as for instance on leaden fonts at Couteville, Brittany,³ Warborough, Oxfordshire, and Long Wittenham, Berks,⁴ all of late twelfth-century date, and exhibiting whorl and other patterns. In stonework of early Norman date we find sun-discs upon the shafts of a window in Stourbridge chapel, Cambridgeshire, and on window-heads in several Essex churches, such as South Shoebury and Margaret Roding: it is quite a local feature: also upon the corbels to a door-lintel at Peterborough cathedral, on the Monk's Door at Ely, on a font of late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century date at St. Thomas's Priory church, Launceston (where the six-rayed sun-disc is encircled by a pair of dragons on each of the four sides

¹ As e.g., a stone tablet in the British Museum, recording the restoration of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, near Babylon, dating from about B.C. 900.

² In the late twelfth-century wall-painting at Chaldon, Surrey, the sun is represented as a six-rayed star, or six-petalled flower. It is similarly shown on early illuminations of the Crucifixion, and also (with the moon and a star)

upon late twelfth- and thirteenth-century grave-slabs, as at Titsey, Surrey, and Southwark cathedral.

³ My friend Mr. G. C. Druce has sent me excellent photographs which he has taken of this interesting font.

⁴ These two last fonts, almost identical in design, are figured in the admirable paper by Dr. Fryer in the *Archaeological Journal*, lvii (opposite page 43).

of the bowl): and upon window-heads of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century dates at Aylesbury, Bucks. and Boyton, Wilts. On some at least of these, as also where the wheel-pattern occurs upon a jamb of a Norman doorway (as at Barfreston), some charm or protective virtue may well have been ascribed to the device, which again may be logically traceable to relics of world-wide sun-worship, unconsciously perpetuated by the mediæval craftsmen.

A late and very interesting instance of the occurrence of these geometrical roundels has come under my notice in the three fonts of almost identical design at Cowfold, Shermanbury and Thakeham, all in West Sussex. The first is dated by an entry in the churchwardens' accounts 1481-1482. The six-rayed star, or sunflower, occurs singly or in groups upon the bowls and bases of these curious fonts. A curious instance of the survival of early forms is to be found in the Jacobean chest at Ruspur, Sussex, where, side by side with unmistakable Renaissance ornaments, are several of these six-pointed stars, which would look quite at home if found on a piece of thirteenth-century woodwork.

It might well be expected that if found so often upon a group of early thirteenth-century chests, we should meet with these chip-carving patterns in roundels upon other woodwork of the period. The only instances I have met with, are some rosettes upon the standards of the well-known "monk's seat" in the south transept of Winchester cathedral, where, however, the rosette is in relief and of quite different character; and the remarkable examples at Old Shoreham church, Sussex. In the chancel of the latter is the well-known thirteenth-century tie-beam carved with the dog's-tooth moulding and richly moulded, to which the late Mr. John Parker called attention as the only instance of the occurrence of the dog's-tooth moulding in woodwork.¹ On the soffit of this beam, at either end immediately where it leaves the wall-plate, is a carved patera, or roundel, about 7 inches in diameter, precisely similar to those on the chests.

¹ This was not strictly correct. There used to be a similarly ornamented tie-beam in the chancel of Ditchling

church, until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

That on the northern side has the whorl pattern, while that on the south has the six-rayed star, within a zigzag border, exactly as found on several of the chests. Incidentally we have in the occurrence of these roundels on this beam, which is indisputably of a date not later than the middle of the thirteenth century, corroborative evidence of the date of the chests. It is perhaps worth while remarking that the vigorous art of these early chest makers has survived in unbroken tradition in the stop-chamfered framework of our country carts, waggons and vans. The village wheelwright of to-day in a country village is unconsciously perpetuating the simple designs of the thirteenth-century craftsman whose carts were, after all, only chests on wheels.

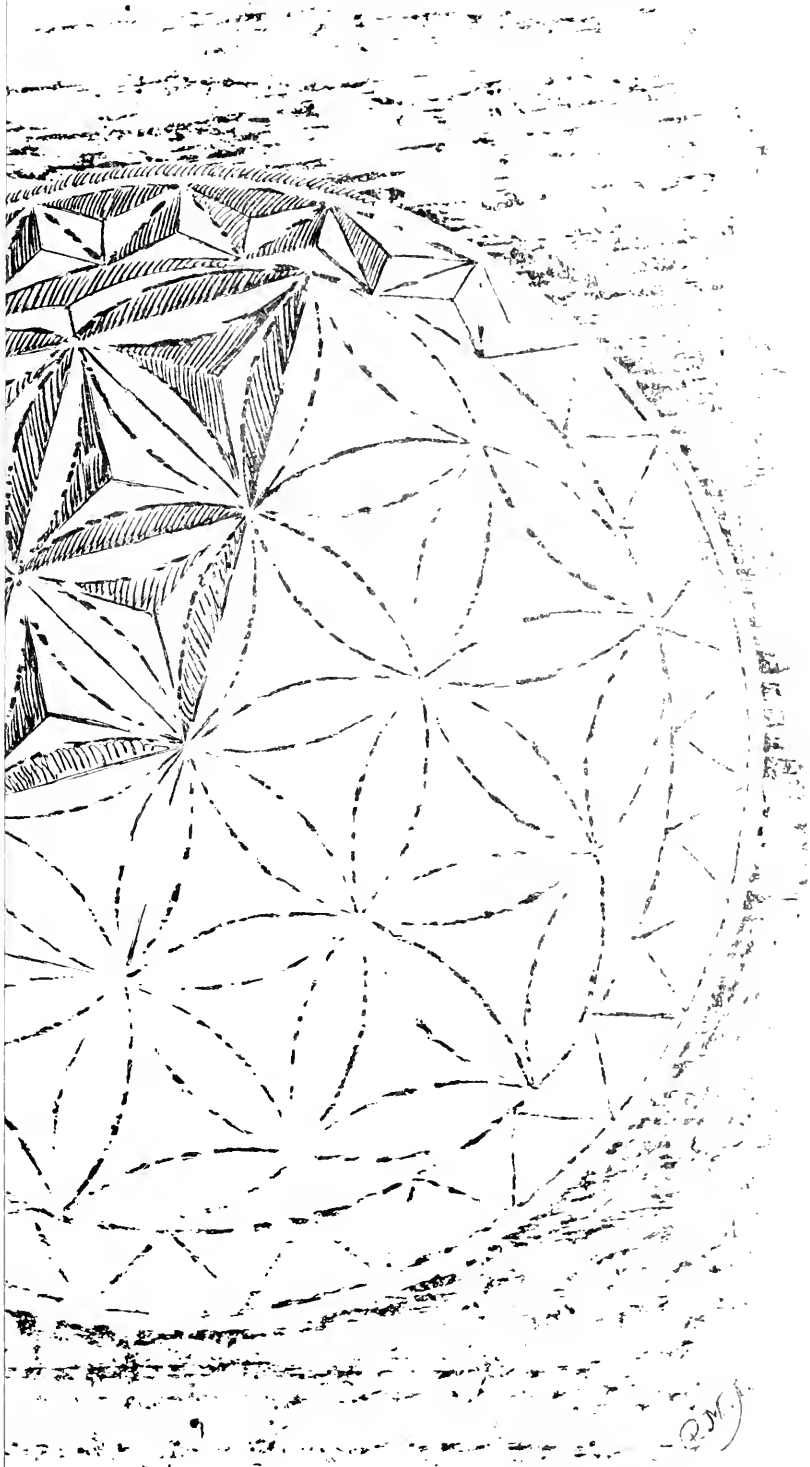
From the close correspondence that exists between them in the different chests, I am convinced that the locks and other ironwork are in nearly every case, original. Had the locks been renewed at a later date, in places so far apart as Suffolk and Surrey, there would almost certainly be many points of difference in the *minutiae* of design and construction. But the reverse is the case in such instances as Earl Stonham, Suffolk, and Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey.

NOTE.—One further example, an unusually elaborate pin-hinged chest of thirteenth-century date, has come to my notice too late for insertion in the alphabetical list in the body of the paper. It is figured in the *Publication of the Anastatic Drawing Society*, xvi, Plate xlv, where the following account is given of it:

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. *MILTON.

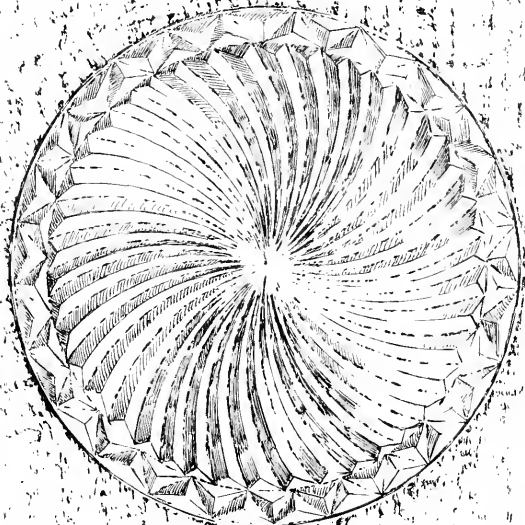
"This beautifully carved oak chest, probably of the fourteenth century, was recently discovered in a cottage at Milton, a village near Cambridge, and is, considering its great antiquity, in very good preservation. The front (disfigured by a modern lock) is divided into five canopied panels, each containing a subject carved in *relief*; the back of the chest is also carved, as are the two ends, but here the carving is simple and *sunk*. The lid has been richly carved, but is so much broken and decayed that the subject can scarcely be distinguished. Inside the box, at one end, is a small shelf covered with a flap. There are no metal hinges, the lid working on wooden pins in sockets. The chest is 21½ inches long, 13 inches high and 11 inches wide, and is in the possession of the finder, Mr. Whitaker, of Cambridge."

The diminutive size is noteworthy, and altogether exceptional in chests of this pin-hinged group. The internal shelf, "with a flap" spoken of, are clearly the remains of a money hatch. From the drawing of the front it is evident that the subject occupying the three canopied trefoil-headed panels of the central body is the Annunciation; the angel occupying the left hand, a lily-pot the middle, and the Blessed Virgin, with the Dove, the right hand panel. On the flanking standards is a single figure in each panel, and on the feet of the standards a tracery panel framing a carved head. A cross *patée* is incised upon the tumbling-in end plank of the ends and on the back a *fleur-de-lys*, scroll-work, quatrefoils and other ornaments appear in slight relief. Quatrefoils and ball-flowers are found above the tracery panels of the front. The chest has evidently come from a church, perhaps it formed part of the furniture of a lady chapel, and its date may be about 1270.



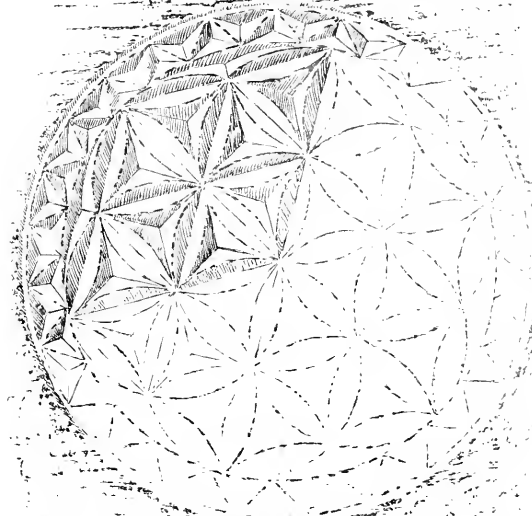
From a rubbing finished in ink

N^o 1



Earl Stronham

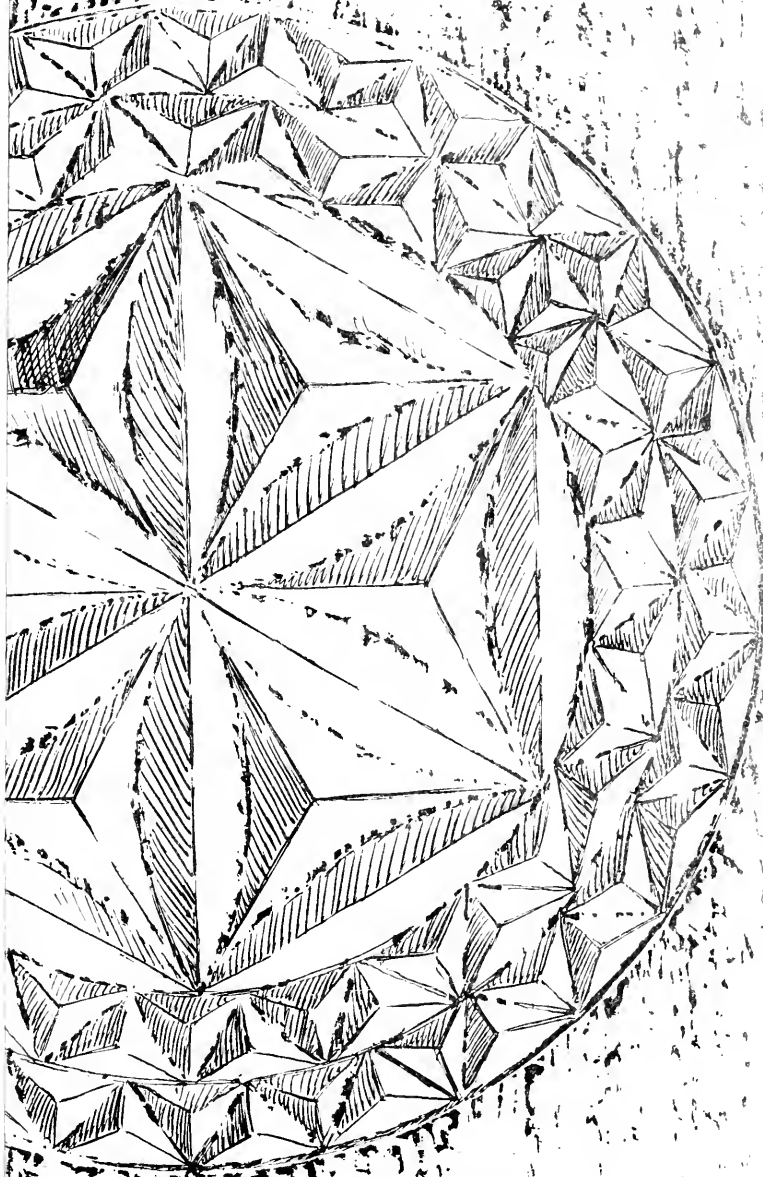
N^o 2



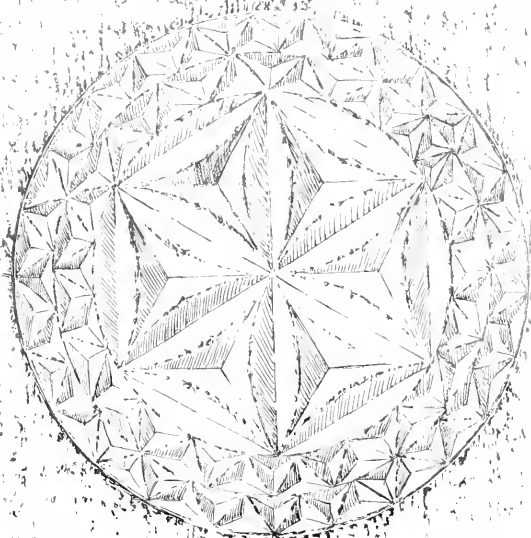
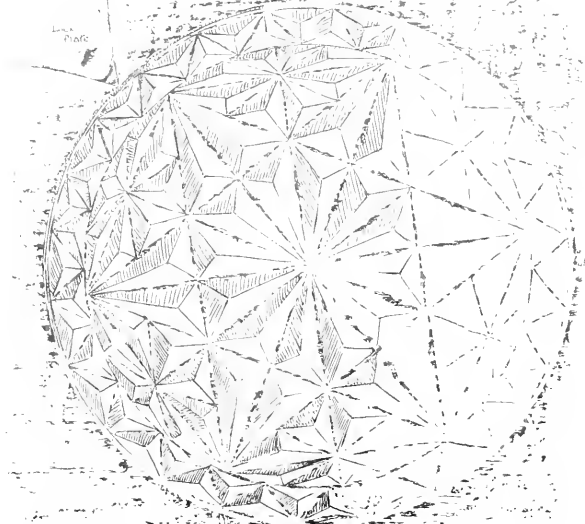
Half real size.

Plate XI. a

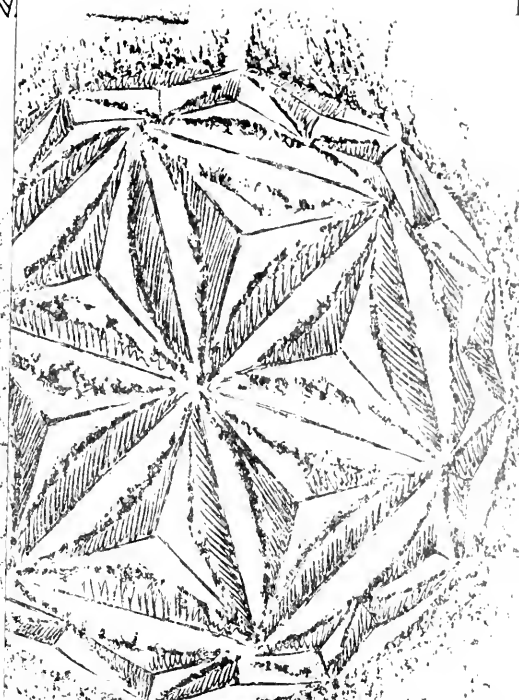
From a rubbing finished in 1918



From a rubbing finished in ink

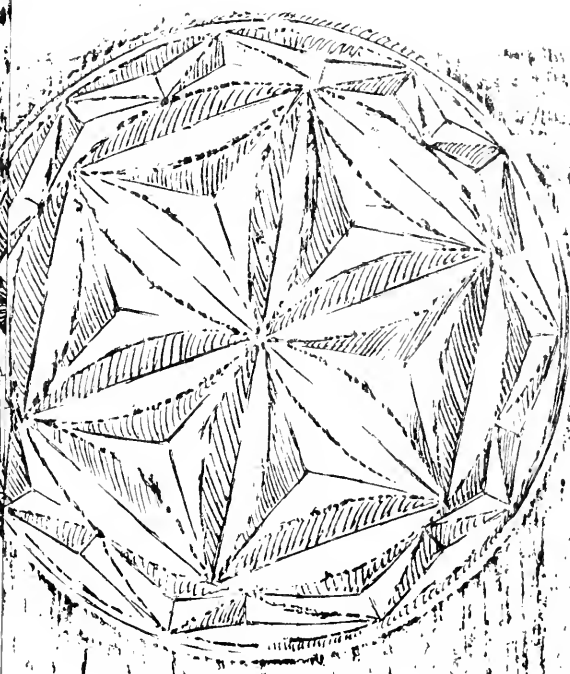


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Fel

Nel



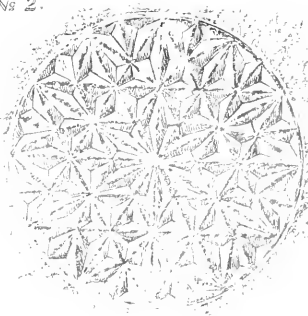
From a rubbing finished in 1876.

No 1.



Felpham.

No 2.



No 3.

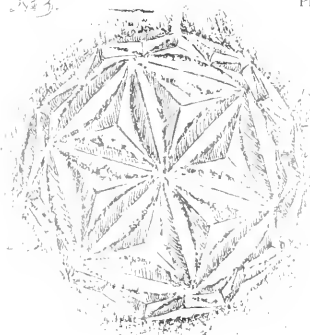
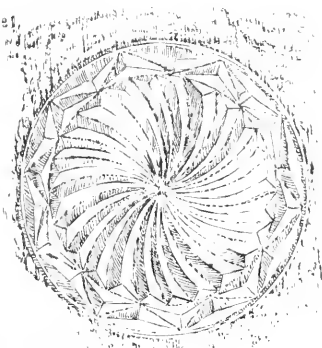


Plate XII.

No 1.

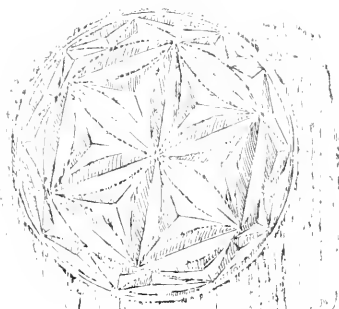


No 2.

Half real size.



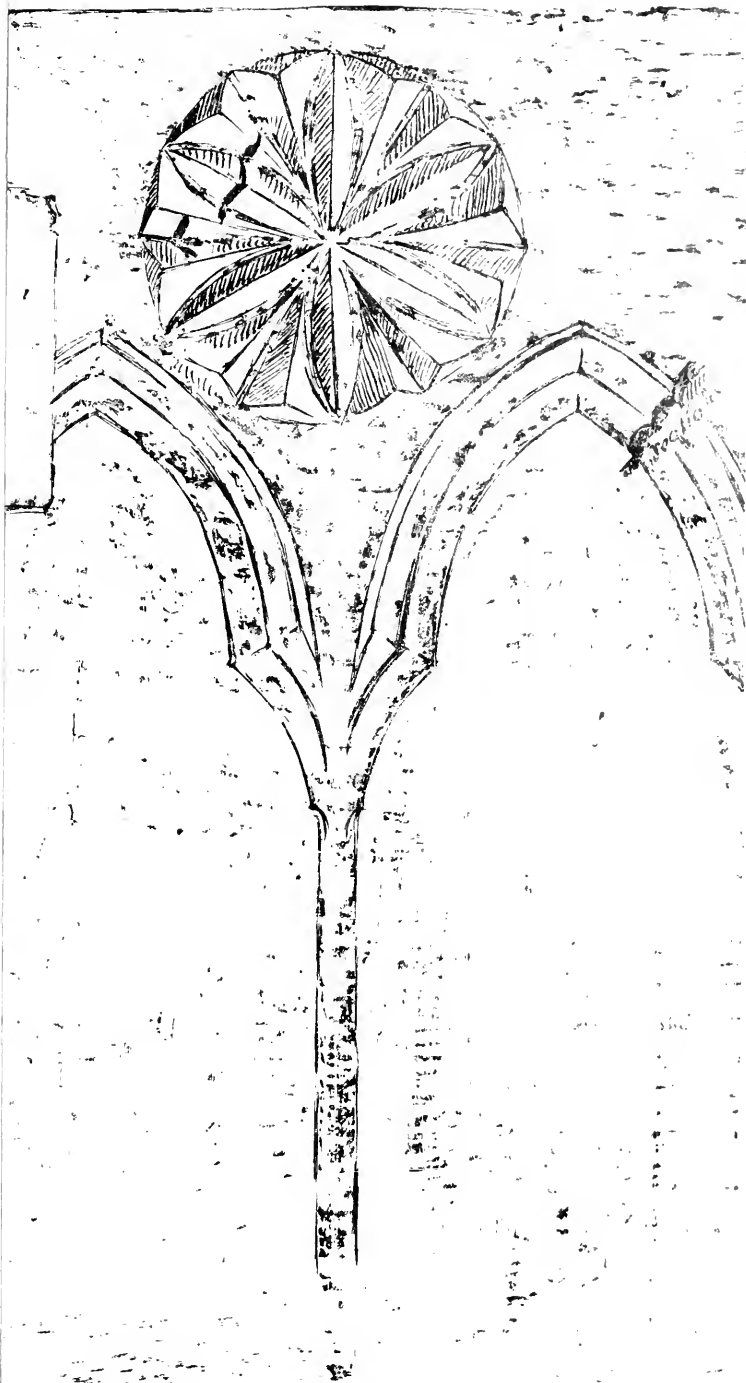
No 3.



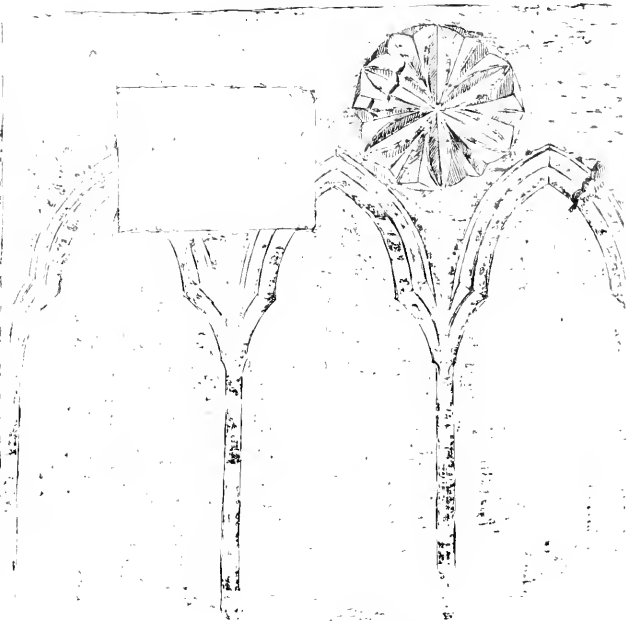
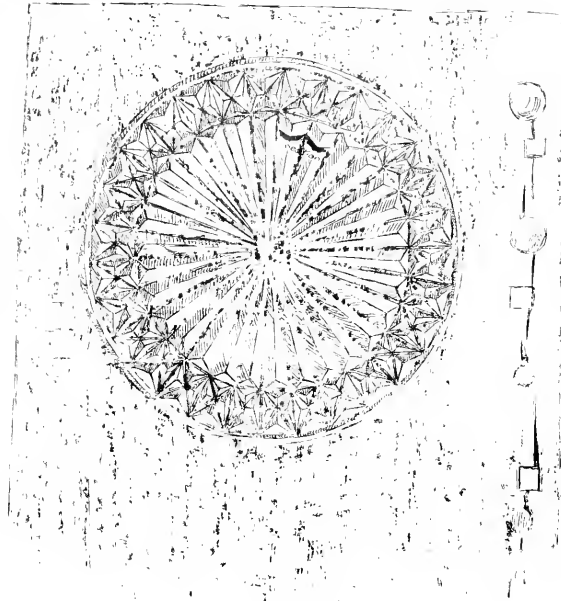
Stone

d. Abemon.

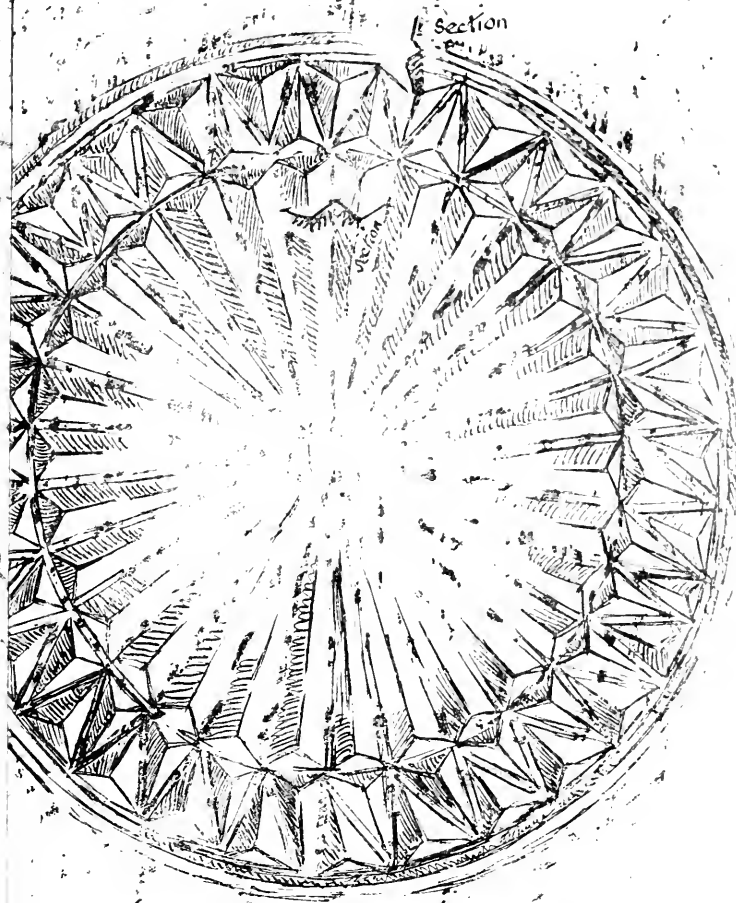
From a rubbing finished in 1846.



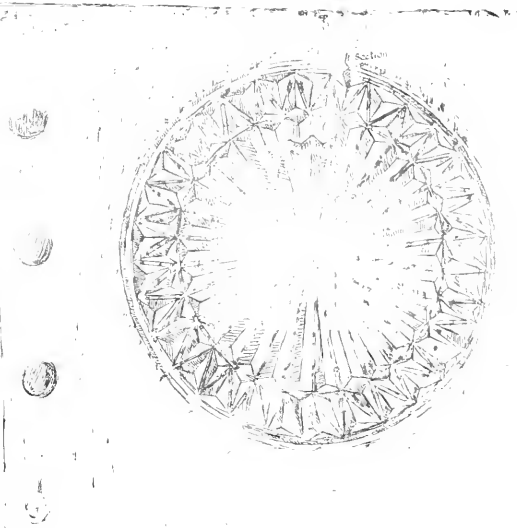
From a rubbing finished in ink by P.M.J.



From a rubbing finished in 1906 by P.M.J.



From a rubbing finished in ink by P. M. J.



From a rubbing finished in 1938 by P.M.F.

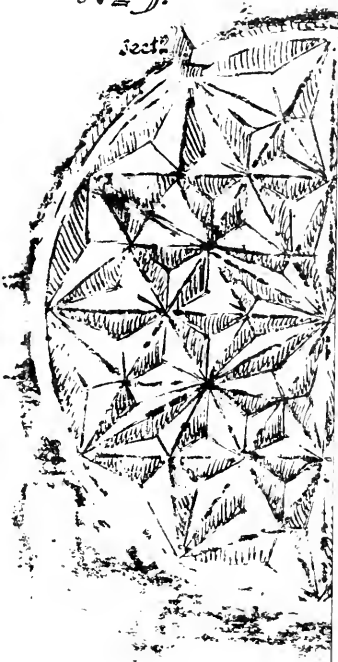
Midhurst.

Nº 1.

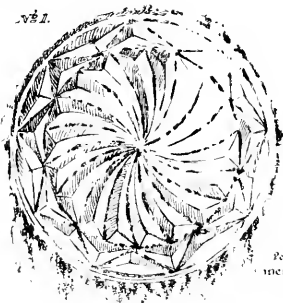


Nº 3.

sect.

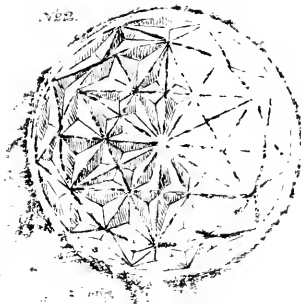


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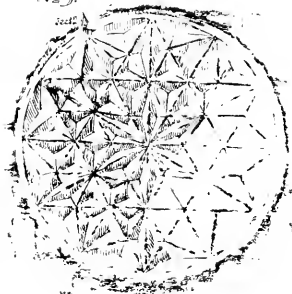


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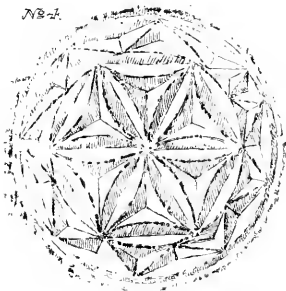
Nº 2.



Nº 3.



Nº 4.



From a rubbing finished in 1918 by P.M.I.



Obituary.

THE LATE JAMES HILTON, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER OF THE INSTITUTE.

The Institute has recently lost one of its most devoted and generous friends. The late Mr. James Hilton had been a member for forty-two years, and for twenty-five years had filled the responsible post of Honorary Treasurer. It was his careful management of its finances which largely secured for it a healthy and prosperous condition, and enabled it to maintain its *Journal* at the high level which it has always occupied. He and his devoted daughter, Mrs. Hale-Hilton, have been very regular attendants at its annual gatherings and also at its meetings in London. It was a notable event when, not long ago, the chairman at one of these meetings was able to convey to Mr. Hilton, who was present, the congratulations of the members on his ninety-second birthday. His genial, gentle and ever welcome presence will be much missed among us.

Mr. Hilton was born on 6th June, 1815. He sprang from the old Lancashire family of the Hiltons, and was educated as a solicitor. His practical ability attained its natural result in a successful career; but his friends will be chiefly concerned to remember how he spent his leisure and his means in furthering the two objects he loved best, namely, archaeology and philanthropy. He was for many years on the committee of the Church Building Society, and greatly assisted in the work of restoring the church of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield. He was an active member and auditor of the accounts of the Egypt Exploration Fund and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. His particular and personal taste was the study and explanation of chronograms, on which he was the first authority. He had collected a large series of books on the subject, many of them of the greatest rarity, and himself published three volumes

dealing with it, which were written with great thoroughness, acumen and learning. This collection of books he has bequeathed to the British Museum, to which he also left his fine and choice collection of Chinese jade objects. To the Institute he left a legacy of £200.

These things will keep his memory fresh with those who did not know him as well as some of us who were privileged to be his friends, and who cherish most the recollection of his simplicity, modesty, and perennial kindness and urbanity, qualities that are seldom so prominent in those otherwise so well endowed. It is a pleasure to us to feel that his tie with the Institute is maintained, and we hope may be long maintained by the fact of his son-in-law, Mr. Hale-Hilton, being our Honorary Secretary.

H. H. H.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 6th, 1907.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. REGINALD A. SMITH, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on the "Distribution and Variation of Anglo-Saxon Brooches," illustrated by numerous lantern examples.

After some observations by Mr. HOPE and the PRESIDENT, a vote of thanks was accorded the author.

December 4th, 1907.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. AMBROSE P. BOYSON read some further notes on low-set openings in Scandinavian churches; followed by Mr. P. M. JOHNSTON, F.R.I.B.A., on a low-side opening in St. Saviour's Church, Glendalough, Ireland, illustrated by numerous epidiastroscope examples.

Messrs. HOPE, DEWICK, RICE, STEBBING and the PRESIDENT took part in the discussion, and votes of thanks were accorded the authors.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

EGYPT AND WESTERN ASIA IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES. By L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., and H. R. HALL, M.A. Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. 7 x 10, viii + 480 pp., 100 plates and illustrations, 10s. S.P.C.K., 1907.

The authors of this large and well got-up volume anticipate the only criticism which could be levelled at them by admitting in the preface that the book does not profess to be a connected and continuous history of these countries; it is rather a recapitulation and description of the excavations which have been made and the additions to our knowledge which have been gained since the publication of Prof. Maspero's *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*. It may well be that an attempt to produce such a history at this stage would be premature; events move so fast, and such activity in excavation is being shown at so many points along the Nile Valley and in Western Asia, that the conclusions arrived at as the result of one season's work have often to be revised in the light of subsequent discoveries.

At no period have new data been so rapidly acquired as now; during the last ten years many gaps have been filled: a new chapter has been added to Egyptian history which takes us back to the Stone Age, while in Western Asia we have attained a reconstitution of the early dynasties of Babylon.

The authors appropriately begin with the Stone Age as revealed in the palaeolithic workshops in the desert above Thebes. Until a few years back no Egyptologist had dreamt that any relic of prehistoric Egypt would ever be discovered. In the Upper Nile Valley great pear-shaped palaeoliths have recently been found lying on the surface of the desert, blackened by the exposure of ages, and near them the shallow graves in which the Neolithic Egyptians lie, with only a few inches of soil above them, in rough pottery boxes, or simply covered with a mat and surrounded by their flint implements and pottery. The later development of neolithic implements, dating just a little before the Ist Dynasty, attains a most remarkable perfection; their beauty of form, the delicate fluting of the side of the blade and the almost microscopic serration of the edge are unparalleled.

Our knowledge of the kings of the early dynasties has also been increased by recent excavations. Although the evidence of the monuments has confirmed the lists of kings at Abydos and elsewhere in their enumeration of the kings from the IVth Dynasty onwards, yet the mythical character of the first three dynasties has always been suspected. The researches at Nakâda, and more particularly at Abydos, have shed considerable light on this very interesting point. The names of no less than eight kings, attributable to the Ist Dynasty of Manetho, have been recovered, the last four of which are certain identifications, and five kings in the IInd Dynasty, two of which are above suspicion.

The book recapitulates practically all the successes which have attended the work of recent years. A delightful description is given of the discovery in the shrine of Hathor at the side of the funerary temple of Neb-hapet-Rā (Mentuhetep III.), of a beautiful statue of the goddess. She is represented in the traditional likeness of a cow, emerging from the marshes, her feet entwined with papyrus reeds, and suckling the infant Amenhetep III., son of the builder of the shrine. This is probably the most beautiful representation of Hathor in the whole of Egyptian sculpture, and the discovery is undoubtedly of great importance.

Prominence is also given to Mr. Davis' excavation of the tombs of Inaa and Tuaa, a find which becomes the more interesting owing to the subsequent discovery by Messrs. Davis and Ayrton of the burial of their daughter Queen Tii, mother of the heretic King Akhnaten (Amenhetep IV.). The remains were scanty and inconclusive, but any disappointment on this score is compensated by the recovery of a glorious golden diadem in the form of a vulture with great recurved wings and the four lids of the canopic jars shaped as portrait heads of the queen.

Akhunaten, the son of Tii, exhibits in his history the disasters which dog the footsteps of the philosopher-king. The heresy which he evolved was a monotheism of a very high order, the worship of the sun's disc and the god behind it, the Lord of the Disc, unnamed and unnameable. But the Theban priesthood would have none of it, and Akhnaten was forced to retire to Tell-el-Amarna, where with a small following he lived the life of contemplation, while his empire fell away.

Turning to the history of Western Asia, the last ten years have not perhaps been so fruitful in results here as they have been in Egypt: the progress is slower inasmuch as the history of Western Asia is in a much more backward state and such discoveries as are being made only allow us to accumulate a set of isolated facts whose co-relation is at present in most cases unknown. Yet the veil is gradually being lifted. The discoveries consist mainly of clay tablets, royal inscriptions and foundation stones, rock inscriptions and some remains of buildings.

The clay tablets are unfortunately in the main purely domestic or commercial, and although they shed a flood of light on family life and commercial relations, land tenure and topography, they are usually undatable and consequently do not help us to locate such historic facts as they may happen to record. The royal inscriptions and foundation stones happily give us more information concerning both historical and religious matters, while the vast rock inscriptions mostly in the mountain country of Armenia and Kurdistan tell us of irrigation works and military expeditions.

The origin of the Babylonians is still a mere matter of surmise: when they first occupied the great plain of Babylonia, they dispossessed its earlier inhabitants, the Sumerians, a race whose very existence, recently doubted, later discoveries have established. These were a strange people who, though vanquished and gradually absorbed, yet imposed their culture on their more barbaric conquerors. At the date of the earliest remains known to us this race was a highly developed one, and it is clear that the Babylonians adapted the Sumerian system

of writing to their own language, a system originally pictorial, but subsequently conventionalized into mere combinations of wedge-shaped strokes.

The most important discovery relating to Babylonia made during the last few years consists of the famous code of laws of Hammurabi, cut on a large slab of black diorite, and thousands of tablets recovered include a series of royal letters from the king to his viceroys. These discoveries have revolutionised our views as to the history of the development of law, and we now have a comparatively extensive knowledge of the events of the First Dynasty of Babylon. New facts also have come to light concerning the later period of Babylonia; in the mound of Kasr Dr. Koldewey has unearthed the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II.; the temple of E-Sagila, the shrine of the god Marduk, has been discovered and partly exposed as well as the temple of Nabu in Birs Nimrûd.

Recent research has shown the prevalence of great literary activity in neo-Babylonian times, when archives were searched in all directions, early documents copied and collections made. The documents themselves have been unearthed, and among the discoveries are a set of tablets giving copies of early legends of the beginning of the world which afford interesting parallels to the Hebrew cosmogony.

Two large collections of rock inscriptions in the ancient empire of Van and in Kurdistan are about to be published by Prof. Lehmann and Mr. King respectively, while Messrs. King and Thompson have re-copied the bilingual inscription of Darius Hystaspes at Behistûn. The authors are thoroughly up-to-date, and in a lengthy postscript chronicle the latest discoveries which have been made. We cannot resist the temptation of referring to the work of Prof. Winkler at Boghaz Kôï in Cappadocia, the site of the capital of the Hittite empire, where he has come across a vast number of cuneiform tablets, some in Babylonian, the majority in the native language. They include a series of diplomatic letters between Ramses II. and the contemporary Hittite king, which, when fully deciphered, will open a new chapter in the history of the relations of Babylonia and Egypt, of which at present we know practically nothing.

The illustrations throughout this volume are very well reproduced and most illuminating, the print is good and the whole is well got up; we can confidently recommend this handbook to anyone who wishes to learn from practical excavators the stage at which research has now arrived.

THE ROMAN FORTS ON THE BAR HILL, DUMBARTONSHIRE.

By G. MACDONALD, LL.D., and A. PARK, F.S.A. Scot. 5s nett. MACLEHOSE and SON, Glasgow, 1906. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

The secret ambition of every archæologist digging upon the site of a Roman fort in Britain is to get upon the track of Agricola, but that general has hitherto proved remarkably elusive. In the earlier camp at Bar Hill the excavators claim to have found his very handiwork. During his fourth campaign Agricola threw up a line of defences between the Forth and the Clyde, and it is the scanty relics of one feature in this chain of forts that we are asked to see in the

ditches underlying the Antonine foundations at Bar Hill. The evidence for such an attribution is strong, though the actual remains are meagre enough; their very meagreness, as the writers point out, being an interesting commentary upon Tacitus' account, and showing how precarious was the hold upon a virtually unconquered country given by Agricola's slenderly manned outposts: it is not surprising that the limits of the province should have been withdrawn after the general's recall.

The later fortress presents the usual features of the Roman military station, though it is so far dilapidated that only the praetorium can be made out in any detail. This building, however, can be restored with comparative completeness, thanks to the preservation of many of its pillars and architectural details in a well in the outer court, some of the latter strangely resembling work of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It certainly shows that the Roman builders of North Britain had a certain independence of spirit which might differentiate their work from that of the more settled provinces of the Empire, and even in a slight degree anticipate the progress which then was to be slower though so vastly more important. The finds made in the course of the excavations included two inscriptions, an altar of the Baetasii, and a dedication to Antoninus Pius, a very interesting chariot wheel, perhaps of British rather than of Roman origin, and a fair number of the objects usually found upon a Roman site. Altogether there was abundant material for the book which Dr. Macdonald and Mr. Park have produced, and produced in a manner that gives every reason for praise. The plans are clear and sufficiently numerous, the photographs good, and the text all that can be desired. It is a pity, considering the interest of the architectural details, that no measurements of these are given, but the drawings are clear and expressive. The discoveries upon a site whose general character is known beforehand, do not give great scope for theorising. The main theory in the book, that of the first occupation by Agricola, may well be conceded; on the minor but interesting question whether the furnace in the side of the entrenchment was the crematorium, many may prefer to give the verdict of "not proven." There can, however, be no two views as to the thoroughness which the excavation was carried out and the excellence with which its results are published.

CORSTOPITUM. Provisional Report of the Excavations in 1906. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY, M.A. Reprinted from *Archaeologia Aeliana*. 3rd Series, vol. iii.

The provisional report of the excavations at Corstopitum is now somewhat out of date, as the work carried out this summer has yielded finds of much greater interest, notably the particularly expressive figure of a lion standing on the body of a prostrate deer, and a pottery shop with coins, apparently the contents of the till, which presents a very interesting chronological problem. Moreover, in a preceding number of this volume,¹ Mr. Woolley kindly wrote for us a short *résumé* of the results of the work undertaken in 1906, illustrated by a

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, lxiv, 38.

coloured reproduction of a Romano-British vase which deserves attention. But the report is much fuller and is accompanied by some very instructive sections of the town ditch and several plans.

Two building sites only were touched in 1906, one yielding remains of a private house, the other an official building. The excavation of the former has been continued during the past summer.

The work done on the Roman bridge across the river Tyne is interesting. Although the existence of its remains has always been known (some of the piers were still standing above the surface of the stream about a hundred years ago), the bridge had not previously been planned, nor had the angle at which it crosses the river been accurately determined. The south abutment is almost entirely in the river, while the north abutment probably lies about 200 feet north of the present north bank, at the foot of the rising ground on which *Corstopitum* stands. The foundations of five water-piers have been found in the bed of the river, and others, no doubt, exist under the mass of alluvial soil of the present north bank. The angle at which the bridge lies show conclusively that in Roman times the river at this point ran in a direction somewhat different from the course of the present stream, and that its bed was considerably broader than the bed of the modern river at the same place. There would appear to have been ten piers and eleven waterways, the piers being large enough to carry a road 20 feet wide. No arch stones have been found: probably the superstructure was of timber.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS AT PEVENSEY. Report of the Committee for the season 1906-1907. 30 pp. Plates and plans. 2s. 6d.

At Pevensey excavations have been carried on since the autumn of 1906. The great walls of Anderida, one of the fortresses of the Saxon Shore, were probably not erected until half-way through the fourth century, but the site appears to have been in continuous occupation since Neolithic times. Under the supervision of Mr. L. F. Salzmänn and Mr. J. E. Ray a series of preliminary shafts were dug, but as these yielded practically no results systematic trenching was commenced in the centre of the northern part of the enclosure: the work shows traces of occupation during the third and fourth centuries and has yielded a quantity of Roman coins, pottery, and the like, but as yet no foundations of permanent buildings have been found. The wall has also been examined, its foundations investigated, and the method of construction determined.

In February of this year the east gate and the north postern were cleared and planned: the latter is interesting as the passage was found to follow an S-shaped course within the thickness of the wall, here over twelve feet thick.

The knowledge gained by these excavations is somewhat meagre, but we hope that the Committee, whose funds are slender, will meet with sufficient encouragement to justify a continuation of their programme on a very interesting site.

During the ensuing year it is proposed to uncover the remaining gateways and to trace the southern course of the wall. Work in the Norman castle is also contemplated, under the supervision of Mr. Harold Sands, with the object of recovering the plan of the keep and other buildings.

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. A Record of Matters Political, Historical, Social and Personal, from 1736 to 1761. Translated from the Tamil by Order of the Government of Madras, and Edited by Sir J. E. PRICE, K.C.S.I., assisted by K. RANGACHARI, B.A. Vol. II. April to October, 1746. 432 pp. Government Press, Madras, 1907.

We have already noticed the first volume of this quaint Indian diary,¹ and we feel sure that the interest of the second volume is considerably greater to the European reader. Pillai continues to note all the petty details of his life, and the scandals and intrigues of Pondicherry society; but having by this time thoroughly ingratiated himself with Dupleix, he is able to record with considerable detail the conversations and opinions privately expressed to him by that remarkable person, and we can judge the man himself from his own expressed words and opinions. The portions of the diary which give these interviews are, we think, most instructive and interesting. For instance, take the account given by Dupleix to Pillai of European contemporary politics, his description of the British Constitution seen through the glasses of one steeped in the traditions of the monarchical system of the later Bourbons, his estimate of the British character, largely formed on his Indian experiences; or later, those discussions in which the future of the French in India is considered, in which Dupleix, with the eye of a nineteenth-century statesman, enunciates the principle, if not the phrase, that "trade follows the flag." Readers of Captain Mahan will find in the diary ample authority for the proposition that the ultimate failure of Dupleix was due to the naval inferiority of France, and we suspect that Dupleix never grasped the great maxim that the command of the sea was a *sine qua non* to a Western conquest of India.

There is plenty of light thrown on the character of the Governor-General; we see his all-pervading energy, his faculty for organisation and centralisation, his knowledge of India and how best to divide the interests of the various potentates so as to overcome them in detail, his great tact, and, above all, his intense patriotism; on the other side we see his vanity and petty greed, his love of ostentation and power, his intolerance of ability, and his refusal to divide the stage with a rival; his lack of sympathy with his subordinates and his contempt for his opponents.

In the month of July, 1746, the fortunes of the French in India may be said to have reached their zenith; La Bourdonnais, with a powerful fleet, arrived at Pondicherry, and his strength so impressed the British naval commander that he left the coast. A great opportunity had come to drive the English from India; the diary tells us how that opportunity was wasted. Nothing can be more bitter than the jealous words and actions of Dupleix towards his naval

¹ *Archæological Journal*, lxiii, 40.

comrade; co-operation between them speedily became impossible, and although Madras was captured, La Bourdonnais revenged his injuries by ransoming the town back to the English and thereby causing Dupleix great loss of prestige. Pillai naturally sided with his patron in the recriminations which followed, and, in fact, the diarist fails to do justice to any of Dupleix's numerous enemies, and his estimate of character is very apt to be the echo of his master's.

The editors have inserted in the appendix some extracts from the Tellicheri Factory diary which relates the surrender of Madras from the English point of view, and vividly exhibits the anxiety which that exploit caused the English settlements in India. We wish they could have added some concise account of the general situation in India explanatory of the period with which the volume deals, as without notes it is difficult for the reader not thoroughly conversant with the times to follow the narrative.

THE YORKSHIRE COINERS, 1767-1783, AND NOTES ON OLD AND PREHISTORIC HALIFAX. By H. LING ROTH, Hon. Curator, Blankfield Museum, Halifax. 322 pp., xxv plates, 233 illustrations. Halifax: F. King & Sons, Ltd., 1906.

In this volume Mr. Ling Roth has collected a somewhat heterogeneous mass of materials dealing with different periods in the history of Halifax. The first part of the book gives an account of an outbreak of "the unlawful and villainous practice of clipping and coining" in the West Riding of Yorkshire between the years 1767 and 1783, including the story of the murder of Supervisor Deighton by members of the gang, which is here told in considerable detail. For the most part the writer has chosen to present the records of the affair in their original form, rather than to use them as authorities for his work; and we may readily believe, as the preface claims, that this is the fullest account of the subject that has yet been published. Whether the interest of the episode quite justifies the minute record of it here preserved, is more doubtful; in any case, the treatment is somewhat disproportionate as compared with that devoted to the subject of the second and third parts of the volume.

These parts consist of notes on old and on prehistoric Halifax respectively, and here Mr. Ling Roth has been fortunate in being able to publish two lectures of Mr. John Lister on the making of Halifax and the Halifax Gibbet Law. Both are not only admirably readable, but are clearly the fruits of scholarly and independent research. Many Yorkshiremen of to-day will be able to trace a connection with the old worthies who figure in Mr. Lister's pages; and to them these papers will appeal with a special interest; but the value of Mr. Lister's contribution is far more than local. He sketches the history of the town from the grant of the Manor by Henry I. to the earls of Warren down to the completion of the parish church in the reign of Edward IV.; and the story is a mine of interesting information.

Mr. Ling Roth has an interesting chapter on the last century, in which he treats of the domestic life of Halifax as illustrated by quaint articles of the time, ranging from ladies' *toupets* and *callèches* to snufflers, toasting "bulls," stone ovens, and various other fashions which make a hundred years seem a long period indeed; from a

subsequent chapter, however, on Halifax handbills, we see that in some points, the art of advertisement, for instance, our own age is much like its predecessors.

Lastly, in part iii, Mr. Ling Roth has collected a few notes on pre-historic Halifax, to which Mr. J. L. Russell contributes a chapter on the Blackheath barrow near Todmorden. The numerous plates and illustrations are a special feature of the book, which deserve the highest praise; the clearness of their reproduction is materially aided by the excellence of the paper on which the book is printed throughout.

THE LOW SIDE WINDOWS OF WARWICKSHIRE CHURCHES.

By F. T. G. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.G.S. From Vol. XXXII, of the *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*.

The wish has before now been expressed by the small, but let us hope, increasing number of archaeologists interesting themselves in the battlefield of low side windows that a systematic study of the subject should be taken up county by county. In the monograph before us Mr. Houghton has very exhaustively catalogued the examples occurring in Warwickshire, following the footsteps of our member, Mr. Johnston, in respect of the counties of Surrey and Sussex, and of the Rev. J. F. Hodgson with regard to the county of Durham. Mr. Houghton has not only given us a complete list of all the examples extant in his county, but he has classified them according to their various types, and described each one separately with all essential details and measurements. In addition to these full descriptions, the book is also furnished with excellent photographs of the more interesting examples, among which we may single out, as specially worthy of notice, that at Sheldon, where the aperture is only $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, very reminiscent of the Danish type, and the tiny double lancets, cut in a single slab of stone, at Wixford.

Mr. Houghton draws attention to the circumstance that low side windows, in their normal position, are absent from most of the town churches, which is quite in accordance with observations in other counties; indeed, we are under the impression that there is scarcely an instance on record where one is to be found in the church of a larger town.

By reference to old engravings, he is able to record several instances, of which no traces now exist, and one interesting example in this connexion is that of a lancet at the west end of the chancel at Morton Bagot, the present sill of which is not low, but which, according to an engraving in *The Churches of Warwickshire* (1837), had underneath it a blocked opening, separated from the upper part by a transom; and Mr. Houghton fairly argues that, when lancets are found very far towards the west end of the chancel, it is likely that they once had low openings beneath them, although no indication is at present to be found.

The total number of examples which he records is seventy-six, and as the number of pre-Reformation chancels is 139, the county can claim a very full proportion in comparison with the rest of England.

Mr. Houghton does not commit himself to any of the numerous theories with regard to their use, but we gather that he rather inclines to the confessional as, at all events, one of their uses.

We hope that Mr. Houghton's admirable example may, before long, be followed in other counties.

A. P. B.

A HISTORY OF SUFFOLK. By the REV. J. J. RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A.
Cheap re-issue, "Popular County Histories." Elliot Stock, 1907.

We welcome the re-issue, in a cheap and handy form, of Dr. J. J. Raven's well-known work. The volume contains an account of the physical characteristics of the county, and its history from pre-Christian times down to the closing years of the nineteenth century; a chapter also is devoted to the ethnology, surnames, dialects and folk-lore of Suffolk.

The history of any English county is in effect a history of England in miniature, and consequently such works tax to the utmost an author's power of selection and condensation. In this case we think Dr. Raven would have done well to have seized the opportunity of a re-issue for a more radical revision of his work. Some of the fables of the early chronicles, and much that is conjectural, could have been omitted; and such verbiage as "Newmarket, as many of my readers will know, is a town sacred to that animal which is counted a vain thing to save a man," might have left room for something a little more important. More space might have been given to the history of the wool trade, which did so much for the prosperity of Suffolk during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To these traders we owe many of the churches and their rich adornment which are the pride of the county.

Again, little mention is made of the Flemings, who first landed in Suffolk during the twelfth century, and were much in evidence in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By a curious oversight, although importance is given to the date of Sigebert's death, the year of the founding of the monastery at Beodricesworth by him is not mentioned.

The author has dealt with his subject in a popular manner, unfolding the history of this East Anglian county with a wealth of detail which fascinates the reader. Perhaps to those who are interested in the early history of our county, the chapter given to earlier and later Saxon times will most appeal. Dr. Raven, in referring to the round towers which are scattered over Suffolk, is of opinion that many of them were the result of a law "passed by Athelstan after the battle of Brunanburg, Brumby, or Brunton, with the advice of Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops . . . which necessitated the building of a bell-tower on the estate of a thane. This wise regulation I regard as having given rise to many of those round towers which are hardly to be found out of East Anglia."

The work contains a good index, but we regret that in making this re-issue it was found impossible to include a map.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS: Notes and Impressions. By the REV. H. J. DUKIN-FIELD ASTLEY, M.A., Litt.D. 55 pp. 1s. 6d. nett. Elliot Stock, 1907.

One of our members has been following in the footsteps of Mr. Pickwick. The coach containing Mr. Pickwick "rattled through the well-paved streets of a handsome little town of thriving and cleanly appearance, and stopped before a large inn, situate in a wide open street nearly facing the old abbey." Mr. Astley reminds us of

the passage. He also alighted, but from a motor car, before the Angel at Bury St. Edmunds, and stepped across the road to visit the old abbey. He discourses pleasantly in this little book on the history of Bury St. Edmunds and its abbey, and traces the history of the monastic buildings, the great gateway, the dove-cote and the abbot's bridge, the glory of the good people of Bury. Mr. Astley meditates on Jocelin de Brakelonde, the Boswellian biographer, as Carlyle called him, of Abbot Simpson, and closes his little book with a few words on the twelfth-century Moyses Hall, now a museum, once a Jewish dwelling-house, or perhaps, if Dr. Margoliouth is right, part of a large Jewish establishment containing, among other buildings, a seminary and a synagogue.

THE INTERNATIONAL: A Review of the World's Progress. Edited by DR. RODOLPHE BRODA. No. 1, Vol. I. 86 pp. T. Fisher Unwin, Dec. 1907.

To explain its purpose it will be sufficient to quote the first few words which introduce this progressive new monthly. "The numerous independent movements of culture all over the world, hitherto quite out of touch with each other, will here be presented side by side in an organ exclusively devoted to their common interests." The contents of the first number of this periodical, which is to be published in English, French and German simultaneously, promises well for its future; but, as its name indicates, it hardly falls within our province as archaeologists.

The following publications have also been received by the Institute:—

- Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.* Vol. XXXVII. 1907. Dedicated to Edward Burnett Tylor. With portrait.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.* Second Series. Vol. XXI, No. 1.
- Archæologia.* Vol. 60, Part 1.
- The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.* Vol. XXXVII, Parts 2 and 3. 1907.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.* Vol. III. 1907.
- Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vol. XXIX, Parts 5 and 6. 1907.
- Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.* Vol. XI, Part 3. 1907.
- Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club.* Part XVII. Vol. VI, Part 2. 1906-7.
- Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.* Vol. XXIX, Part 2. 1906.
- Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire for* 1906. Vol. LVIII. 1907.
- Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Library and Philo-sophical Society.* Vol. LI, Parts 2 and 3. 1906-7.
- Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire.* Vol. XXXIV, iii. 1907.

Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. 3rd Series. Vol. VII, Parts 2 and 3. 1907.

Sussex Archaeological Collections. Vol. I. 1907.

Publications of the Thoresby Society. *Miscellanea*, Vol. XV, Part 2. 1906.

The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal. Vol. XIX, Parts 3 and 4. 1907.

The Huguenot Society of London. Vol. X, Part 3. 1907.

Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London.

Foreign Publications.

Moundville Revisited. By Clarence B. Moore. Reprint from the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia*. Vol. XIII. Philadelphia, 1907.

Smithsonian Institute, Washington :—

Annual Report of the Board of Regents for the year ending June, 1906.

Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907.

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Vol. XLVIII. Quarterly Issue. Vol. III, Part 4. *Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast, 1897-1906.* Part of Vol. XLIX. Vol. I. Quarterly Issue. Vol. IV, Parts 1 and 2. 1907.

Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente. 1905-1906. Tome VI.

Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Band I. 1906.

Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen. Jahrgang 1907, vier Hefte. Hannover, 1907.

Portugalia: Materiaes para o estudo do povo portuguez. Tom. II, Fasc. 3. Porto.

O Archeologo Português. Vol. XII, Nos. 1 à 4. Lisboa, 1907.

Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter. Trondhjem, 1906.

Vjesnik Hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva. N.S. IX. 1906-7.

Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico. Segunda Época. Tomo IV, Nos. 4-8. 1907.

Pravěk, Journal of the Archaeological Society of Moravia. Vol. III, Parts 1-4. Kojetín-na-Haně. 1907.

Report of the Council for the year 1906-1907.

The Council has the honour to present its Report, the sixty-fifth since the origin of the Institute, showing its financial condition and progress during the year.

The printed Cash Account, prepared as usual by the Chartered Accountants, now placed before the Members, is, it is hoped, a clear statement of income and expenditure, as well as a record of the investment regarded as capital, now consisting of £1,500 Metropolitan two and a half per cent. stock.

The balance of cash at the bankers at the end of 1906 was £193 10s. 7d. All charges appertaining to the year are paid.

Two members' subscriptions are in arrear for the year 1906.

The Members of the Council who retire in rotation according to the rules are Messieurs Keyser, Bilson, Brakspear, Peers and Bannerman. It is recommended that these gentlemen be re-elected, and that the following Members be elected and added to the Council, namely, Messieurs Druce, Johnston and Pritchard.

One Vice-President retires by rotation, and Mr. Longden is recommended in his place, and Mr. Boyson as Hon. Auditor.

The number of new subscribing Members elected during 1906 was eighteen, of whom one is a life-compounder. The loss by resignation and death was eighteen, three of the latter being life members.

Among those who have passed away the Council regrets to record the names of Lord Liverpool, who served the office of President of the Meeting at Nottingham in 1901; Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite and Mr. Henry Wilson, both distinguished Members of the Institute.

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